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**TRACTS**  
**ON THE**  
**NATURAL HISTORY**  
**of**  
**ANIMALS AND VEGETABLES.**

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TRACTS  
ON THE  
NATURAL HISTORY  
OF  
ANIMALS AND VEGETABLES,

TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL ITALIAN OF

THE ABBÉ SPALLANZANI,

ROYAL PROFESSOR OF NATURAL HISTORY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF PAVIA,  
F. R. S. LONDON, CURIOS. NATUR. GERMAN, BERLIN, STOCK-  
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BY

JOHN GRAHAM DALYELL, Esq. ADVOCATE,

WITH

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# **OBSERVATIONS AND EXPERIMENTS**

ON THE

SEMINAL VERMICULI OF MAN AND OTHER ANIMALS,  
WITH AN EXAMINATION OF THE CELEBRATED THE-  
ORY OF ORGANIC MOLECULES.

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## **CHAP. IV.**

REFLECTIONS ON M. DE BUFFON'S OBSERVATIONS—  
COMPARISON OF SEMINAL VERMICULI AND THE  
PUTREDINOUS ANIMALCULA OF SEMEN.

**L**ET us continue to examine the other principal results from De Buffon's observations, that is, the appearance of those very long and slender filaments which the vermiculi drag along in their course; the contraction and disappearance of them; the activity the vermiculi acquire with age; the facility of motion in every direction; the change of form, division, diminution of size; and, lastly, their total destruction in a few days.

To begin with the first: Leeuwenhoeck, myself, and other naturalists, have remarked that each vermicule in the semen of man, and of several other animals, has a long appendage which it drags along as it swims. But this appendage is not as Buffon would incline, a thread or long

**VOL. II.**

**A**

**corpusculum,**



corpusculum, without analogy to a tail or any other member, and entirely foreign to the spermatic vermiculus. I have always found, as has been shewn in the first chapter, that the appendage has every characteristic of an actual tail. It has the shape, and the diameter always becomes greater on approaching the body to which it is united, so as to form one whole, as is seen in tailed worms; and the vermiculi also use the tail while swimming through the spermatic fluid, bending it first to one side, then to another, and in every different direction as aquatic worms are wont to do while they swim. I have seen this innumerable times, and in the most distinct manner; so that I must discredit my eyes, if I think or write differently.

It is true that microscopic observation on the tail of human feminal vermiculi is the most nice and delicate of any I have made: it demands the greatest care and the strictest attention. The tail is wonderfully slender, and at the same time transparent; whence, too strong light confounds it with the feminal fluid, so that we entirely lose sight of the whole. In the first place, the choice of light, adapted for observation, is of the greatest importance. The direct light of the sun is too powerful, as is that of a lamp, unless it is moderated by some method. That which I have found most fit for this fine observation, is the light of a  
window

window opposite a white wall moderately illuminated: as, for example, when exposed to a part of the sky covered with white clouds. Secondly, the finer and thinner the sliders are, on which the drop of semen is deposited, the easier are the tails discovered: I prefer talc to chrystal. Thirdly, the drop should be as thin as possible, otherwise the origin of the tail will not be discerned; the rest is concealed in the liquid; and when the seminal fluid is turbid, it is necessary to dilute it with a clearer portion. Fourthly, when the vermiculi swim, as the tail is always a little lower than the body, we must depress the focus of the lens to observe it. Finally, a microscope of a single lens, such as that called Leeuwenhoeck's, should positively be preferred to the compound microscope.

Although M. de Buffon, in his observations, mentions only one or two of the precautions alluded to, and which he seems to have used, I am unwilling to think he neglected the rest; for the exception of only one would prevent him from making the real observation. He says he always used the compound microscope in examining the semen of man and animals. I doubt not that his microscope was as excellent as he affirms; but it was a compound one, and had all the defects of compound microscopes, among which is specially placed, the object never being seen so distinct, or its

outlines so well defined, as with a perfect microscope formed of a single lens. This is a fact acknowledged by all observers, and my own observations on seminal vermiculi with both microscopes confirm it more. Using the first, I saw the vermiculi precisely as has been described: with the second, I had a confused view of the body, and was frequently in doubt whether it was round or oval; the outline was always in a sort of mist or cloud. The tail, which is infinitely more delicate, appeared less sensible, and could only be distinguished as a very long slender body. It is not surprising, therefore, that M. de Buffon calls this part of the vermicule a foreign substance, a kind of long, delicate, subtil filament, since it truly appeared such to him when viewed with the compound microscope.

It may perhaps be thought that my compound microscope was not so good as M. de Buffon's; but those I use are the most perfect now made in London. I was desirous to view spermatic vermiculi with the microscope M. de Buffon had employed, that is, Cuff's microscope, which is precisely that of Mr Needham, and which, M. de Buffon observes, he used in his examination of the seminal fluid. But it showed me nothing more; and I may affirm that my observations and experiments on seminal vermiculi, as well as on the animalcula of infusions, and similar

lar beings, could never have been exempted from uncertainty, I will even say error, by preferring the compound microscope to that of Leeuwenhoeck.

Let us look back a moment to establish the certainty of tails in the human seminal vermiculi. The fact is confirmed in so convincing a manner by the experiment on talc, where the tails appear complete, and not confounded with the semen, as to put it beyond all doubt was there no other proof. However, we may observe that such extreme circumspection, and so many precautions are unnecessary to distinguish the tail in the vermiculi of many animals, when Leeuwenhoeck's microscope is used.

To the contraction and entire disappearance of the tails, which Buffon says he observed when the vermiculi remained long in the semen after it came from the animals body, I can oppose nothing except that in all my observations, which have been innumerable, the reverse was uniformly seen. The vermiculi constantly preserve this member not only while alive, but long after death ; and it does not begin to spoil or be destroyed till the vermiculi themselves arrive at the same state. Further, neither the maceration of the dead bodies by boiling, nor is freezing sufficient to destroy their structure or figure. Vinegar itself and urine, fluids which instantaneously

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destroy

destroy the contexture of most infusion animalcula, cannot, before a considerable time, affect the tail or body of our vermiculi. We should, therefore, have to deny the existence of all these facts to agree with M. de Buffon concerning the contraction and disappearance of the tails. That my observations may have greater weight in establishing the certainty and continuance of these tails, I shall cite the authority of the great physiologist of Berne: ‘Nunc quod caudas attinet, perpetuam particulam vermiculi spermatici, eæ nimis certos, et fide dignissimos habent testes, quibus meum suffragium per experimenta naturæ addidisse liceat (1).’

The other phenomena of spermatic vermiculi, observed by M. de Buffon, such as an increased activity acquired with time, their change of shape, diminution, division and duration of life from four to eight days, seemed to me no less paradoxical, particularly on attending to the repeated observations mentioned in the first chapter, and recalling those of the most acute Leeuwenhoeck. M. de Buffon’s acknowledged merit at the same time prevented me from considering this assemblage of facts as chimerical; and unable to ascribe it to the fault of his microscopes alone, for, however defective they might be, they could not occasion

(1) Haller, *Physiologia*, T. 7.

occasion such a difference in the phenomena, I determined to resolve my doubts by taking the trouble to make a new course of experiments on human semen and that of other animals. But notwithstanding all my care, precautions, and all possible vigilance, I could discover nothing new, at least essentially affecting the facts I have spoken of. Yet, with reflection on Buffon's observations, and the repetition of my own, I could not reproach him with seeing what did not exist. I thought the whole might be an equivocal effect, which seemed the more likely, as the phenomena which he says he observed in seminal vermiculi might be occasioned by beings of a very different nature. My experiments on infusions suggested it. I had remarked, that there is no part of an animal infused that does not give existence to a particular kind of animalcula. They are produced indifferently by the muscles, brain, nerves, membranes, tendons, veins, and arteries; also by the blood, serum, milk, chyle, or saliva, mixed with water or even by themselves. I had not yet made experiments on human semen for a similar purpose, but it was most probable that the putrefaction of it would give existence to particular beings: and who knows, said I to myself, that they have not inadvertently been confounded with seminal vermiculi, and that M. de Buffon has ascribed to the latter the properties and phenomena exhibited by

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the

the former? Perusing Haller's Physiology again, I found he was of this opinion; nay, that he suspected M. de Buffon had never seen the spermatic vermiculi. 'Porro Buffonius, ut cum illustris viri venia dicam, omnino non videtur vermiculos seminales vidisse. Diuturnitas enim vitæ, quam suis corpusculis tribuit, ostendit non esse nostra animalcula (id est spermatica) quibus brevis, et paucarum horarum vita est.' And in another part of the same volume, he adds, 'Ea enim experimenta (id est Buffonii) manifesto ducunt ad animalia putredinosa (1).' However, I thought of ascertaining this fact, by observing what successively happened to semen long preserved in a watch-glass.

My first experiments were on the human seminal fluid (2). The vermiculi died in three hours and a half, and were precipitated to the bottom of the glass. On the sixth day, the fluid began to exhale a foetid disagreeable odour: but no animated being was perceptible. The bodies of the vermiculi were seen, apparently very entire, in some drops taken from the bottom of the glass. The seventh and eighth days, there was no change; but the foetor increased. On the ninth, I discovered very minute animalcula, their

(1) Tom. 7.

(2) 11 February, The Thermometer 45°.

their size nearly equalling that of spermatic vermiculi; but they had no tail, and much resembled most minute spherules. Like infusion animalcula, they sometimes stopped at little fragments of corrupted semen: sometimes their course was very rapid, retrograde or rising and sinking in the fluid: In a word, they possessed every property of animalcula. They were seen in every stratum of the semen, and those at the bottom moved the dead bodies of vermiculi, which were still entire, and remained so some days longer. In the seminal animalcula, we remarked the same periods with regard to increase, diminution of numbers, and termination, as is generally observed in the history of other animalcula; only, when the globular animalcula decreased, there came two other smaller generations: the last, which could scarcely be discerned, continued until the eighteenth day.

While examining the semen in this glass, I observed a portion of the same kind that had been put in another glass, and placed in a stove, that it might experience a greater degree of heat (1). The effect was such as we might expect. The vermiculi lived longer, and the infusion animalcula appeared sooner: the former died in five hours, and the latter appeared in five days. They  
were

(1) The thermometer at temperate.



were of a globular figure, had no tail, and all of the same size and species as those of the preceding observation. The other two colonies then appeared, the globular always remaining.

Having again prepared the same kind of semen, I had an opportunity of seeing the effect of heat in accelerating the production of animalcula (1). Some were found in the fluid in less than twenty-three hours after it was taken from the dead body. These were of a different species from the globular; they were three times as large, and of a cylindrical figure. The body in swimming undulated like a serpent, which did not occur, or was unobserved, in the globular animalcula. The dead vermiculi seemed to be their food; because the animalcula incessantly in motion surrounded them, and pecked at them with the anterior part of the body. In three days, other animalcula as minute as the spermatic vermiculi appeared, along with the cylindrical; and I remarked a circumstance which in semen I had not observed before. In the Tract on infusion animalcula, the propagation of many species by natural division has been spoken of at large. It has been said, that, in several, the division begins in such a manner that the animalcule is gradually cleft across, until it is divided into two equal parts,

(1) 22 May, The thermometer 65°.

parts, which become two animals smaller than the first : but we had to learn whether this mode of propagation could happen with animalcula similar in size to seminal vermiculi. Several scores divided transversely before my eyes ; and the division or propagation continuing several days, the seminal fluid, which had become excessively foetid, now teemed with life. But the number of these, as well as of the cylindrical animalcula, gradually diminished, in the same way as the numbers of infusion animalcula decrease ; and on the twenty first day, all had disappeared. There only remained an universal obscure fermentation of the semen in no particular direction, but the seminal molecules were tumultuously driven about to every side. I was not long in perceiving that this irregular agitation was occasioned by a multitude of most minute animalcula concealed in the semen, which their course had put in motion ; and of this there was complete evidence by diluting the semen with water, as they were then accurately discerned, appearing about half the size of vermiculi.

The phenomena discovered in the semen of the horse were analogous to those in the human semen (1). The vermiculi lived seven hours, and then were precipitated to the bottom, where they remained

(1.) 26 July, The thermometer 88°.

remained long entire ; the body and tail were complete for a month. In fourteen hours, the semen began to exhibit symptoms of putridity, and then were infusion animalcula visible ; they increased ; and on the fifth day, there were many species. One particularly demands our notice : not only did it multiply by longitudinal division, but the size and figure changed every moment. Sometimes the animalcula contracted and became round ; sometimes they dilated and became elliptical, as I have remarked in several species of infusion animalcula.

When this experiment on the semen of the horse was made, one similar was made on that of the rabbit. The vermiculi perished in four hours, and fell to the bottom ; animalcula appeared in fifteen. Two species multiplied by division ; and one exhibited the contractions and inflations already described.

The same experiments were made on the seminal fluid of the ram, dog, and bull ; on that of frogs and newts, with analogous results. In the beginning, and during the progress of putrefaction, each produced different animalcula, and all displayed numerous and different singularities. Their number increased ; it diminished, and became very small. The animalcula were different in figure and size, and some species multiplied by division ; which proved that animal semen resembled

sembled vegetable seeds, from the many kinds of beings to which it gave existence.

These facts afforded new light in illustrating how erroneously Buffon had ascribed to seminal vermiculi properties that belong to animalcula of infusions only. Let us collect the circumstances in a few words.—According to him, the vermiculi, after a certain time, were deprived of their tails. He should have said, the animalcula of infusions came in the place of the vermiculi, which were already dead and precipitated to the bottom of the liquid. He was arrested by their first appearance, and took them for seminal vermiculi deprived of the tail, which in truth they often very much resemble.—When disengaged from the tail, he adds, they acquired much greater activity. This was a necessary consequence of the first mistake. When the animalcula had come, their increased velocity could not be unobserved, since they move with much greater rapidity than vermiculi; and the erroneous supposition being admitted, Buffon had to relate, as he has done, the remainder of the phenomenon. He had to speak of the imaginary changes of the vermiculi, of their division and diminution, with the more confidence, as his opinions were confirmed by a repetition of his experiments, if not on all, at least on many species of infusion animalcula in the semen.

I think

I think I have had too numerous and too decisive proofs to doubt that the phenomena seen in infusion animalcula of semen are totally different from the phenomena exhibited by feminal vermiculi. May I not at once be permitted to oppose my experiments to those of the celebrated De Buffon? I observe that all the feminal fluids he has studied, and where he has discovered the phenomena of which we have spoken, have also been studied by me. I perceive that even more have been examined, and those both of cold and warm blooded animals. His observations on feminal fluids were only made at certain times, and in one season. I judged it necessary to extend mine to all seasons. My microscopes were not inferior to his, nay, they were much better. How then is it possible, that in the same circumstances with the French naturalist, and even in situations more advantageous for examining the phenomena of feminal vermiculi; how is it possible, I say, that these phenomena were never observed? that I never observed some, or remarked a single one? —What do I say? Not only have I never seen any of the phenomena, but beheld what completely contradicted M. De Buffon's observations, in all the fluids, many, many times examined. Such for example is the imaginary activity acquired by vermiculi, in proportion to the time they remain in semen; since directly the reverse happens, as  
has

has been observed and is mentioned in the first chapter. For after exposure to the air, their motion, which before was quick, becomes much more languid; and its greatest rapidity is when the semen comes from the animal's body, which, as I have already said, was remarked by Leeuwenhoeck.

Buffon says, he observed the phenomena three or four days after the semen came from the animal, even on the eighth day in that of the rabbit. This must be impossible, because the vermiculi living longest, as those of the human semen, which were examined by M. de Buffon, cannot exist above seven or eight hours in the open air. When secured against the influence of air, in glass tubes hermetically sealed, they do not survive three days, as we shall afterwards see. Thus it is certain, that the phenomena which the author observed in his experiments could be exhibited by none but the animalcula originating in the seminal fluids when on the verge of corruption, or when they do corrupt, as succeeds in other liquids that will corrupt, or are already corrupted.

I cannot suppress my surprise, that the celebrated French author never doubted, whether the animated beings which he beheld in semen were really spermatic vermiculi, or only animalcula originating there, that is, infusion animalcula. These animals, he well knew, originate no less

less in animal than in vegetable infusions when beginning to corrupt; for he says, that in two infusions, one made with the testicles of a ram in water, and the other with those of a dog, he, in some days, found living animals similar to what he had seen in the semen of animals: that is, globular or ovular, without tails, moving with great activity, and often changing their shape(1). If the animalcula of the two infusions were exactly similar to those he had observed in feminal fluids, how did he not suspect, that instead of being spermatic vermiculi, they might be infusion animalcula? He had additional reason to think so, for he must have remarked that the changes of figure, divisions, diminutions of size, were not to be seen in recent semen, but in that kept some time, and about to corrupt. Of this he must have had certain indications, and an indubitable proof, from the foetid and cadaverous odour which the semen then exhales, which also, is convincing evidence that animalcula are produced in it on account of its putrescence; consequently that we cannot confound them with feminal vermiculi. Another precaution might have occurred, and saved him from error, had he chose to adopt it, namely, to examine the bottom of the feminal fluid and not the surface alone. There he would have found

(1) Histoire. Natur. tom. 3.

found the vermiculi entire though dead, which would have demonstrated, that the animals he then saw in motion could not be seminal vermiculi.

But all I have hitherto said receives greater weight from the comparison that has been made between the vermiculi and animalcula of putrid semen. In another work, I have shewn that a considerable part of infusion animalcula appear by the microscope an aggregate of minute vesicles, of different sizes, and more or fewer invested by a common pellicle, forming the exterior of the animal; that the pellicle and its vesicles are lost and destroyed when the animalcula die; and if, while alive, they are wet with urine or vinegar, the body is destroyed and reduced to nothing (1). All these things are amply verified in the putredinous animalcula of semen; but, with the utmost care and attention, I have never been able to see any thing like it in seminal vermiculi. The texture of the body and tail is not vascular; it is uniformly homogeneous, connected, equally solid, and compact. For this reason perhaps the dead vermiculi fall to the bottom of the seminal fluid, and the infusion animalcula commonly swim. The vermiculi likewise continue long entire after death; urine, vinegar, even boiling, cannot dissolve or decompose their substance.

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(1) Saggio di Osservazioni Microscopiche.



From all this, and from all that has already been said, we must conclude that the animalcula of infusions, consequently those of putrid semen, are of a nature and constitution essentially different from seminal vermiculi. That it is truly so we may easily determine, since a fluid which affords a salutary dwelling to the one is fatal to the other. Putredinous seminal animalcula originate and live in corrupted semen, but die in that which is recent and entire. On the other hand, vermiculi live with safety in recent, but perish when put in corrupted, semen. The animalcula become more lively and active when water is mixed with the semen; the vermiculi, at least several species, become motionless and die. Of the whole of these facts I have often convinced myself: Whence, I conclude infusion animalcula and spermatic vermiculi to be two different species of animals which we cannot confound without outraging nature.

CHAP.

## CHAP. V.

DEDUCTIONS FROM THE FACTS STATED.—M. DE  
BUFFON'S OBJECTIONS ANSWERED.

As I have taken the liberty respectfully to remark the errors of M. de Buffon, I must still request permission to show the deductions that may be made from his noted theory of organic molecules. But to do this with the greater success, it will be necessary to bring under our view some of the chief points of that theory.

The illustrious French naturalist supposes that every animal and vegetable substance includes a number of organic molecules, that is, active and incorruptible particles. He thinks they serve for the nutriment, increase, and multiplication of all beings, whether entering the body of animals by means of food, or the substance of plants with the juices they imbibe; that they intimately penetrate every part, unite there, and are indented, if we may say so, and afford nourishment to the plant or animal. If either is young, it appropriates all the organic molecules, incorporat-

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ing

ing them with itself; and, by extending and expanding the fibre, they effect increment. If the being is already an adult, if it no longer is susceptible of expansion, then all the molecules being unemployed in nutrition, those which are superfluous are deposited in the organs of generation, and some appropriated for propagation of the species; an event which succeeds when the organic molecules of the male are mixed with those of the female in the matrix, so that the most analogous tend to approach each other, and, uniting in virtue of certain relations, form individual wholes, resembling, as in miniature, the different parts of the two individuals in which they are modelled; from all these individual wholes together, there results a general whole, which is the embryo.

If the organic molecules afforded by the male are more numerous than those afforded by the female, or more active, the embryo will be a male; if the molecules of the female are more numerous, it will be a female. The greater number derived from either will occasion the greater resemblance in the embryo to the individual from which it has received them.

Large animals are less fruitful than small; the reason is evident. The former extract fewer organic molecules than the latter. A bull draws less nutriment from hay and straw, and consequently

quently fewer organic molecules than a bee does, in proportion, from the finer parts of flowers.

Animals covered with scales are more productive than those covered with hair, probably because, by perspiring less, they accumulate a greater number of organic molecules.

If, instead of collecting in the organs of generation, the molecules are carried to other parts of the animal, they there form minute living animals, as *tenia* and *ascarides*, worms sometimes inhabiting the intestines, the liver, and the sinuities of the brain.

Thus does the theory of M. de Buffon explain these phenomena, and some others, which, for the sake of brevity, I shall omit. Wishing this theory, the offspring of his fertile genius, to be adopted by nature, he recurs to the seminal fluids of animals and the infusions of plants, because in both, according to his opinion, are organic molecules clearly exhibited under the form of globular, ovular, or other shaped corpuscula, endowed with motion, subject to various changes of figure, dividing into several small bodies, and then acquiring greater activity, which augments more and more, as they are further decomposed, until their minuteness renders them invifible.

This last trait of M. de Buffon's theory proves that it rests entirely on the facts related by

its author, that is, on a false hypothesis. For, with respect to infusions, we have seen that there is nothing in them to indicate organic molecules, as the moving corpuscula there are actually animals, some viviparous, others oviparous, and as those, multiplying by division, do not produce that progression of successive diminution which Buffon imagined he saw, but the smallest grow larger like other animals.

Having found the living putredinous beings of semen to be exactly of the same kind as those of infusions, by a direct and conclusive consequence it follows, that they could never be confounded with organic molecules; and we may say the same of seminal vermiculi, whose animality has been sufficiently proved by the facts related in this treatise, and those engrossed in the subsequent chapter.

M. de Buffon's theory is thus completely destroyed. Such is too often the fate of the hypotheses of ardent and fanciful philosophers, first invented and then fought for in nature. This ingenious naturalist, dissatisfied with the theories of generation already framed, and hurried on by his taste for novelty, imagines an animated matter in bodies, original, incorruptible, and always active, which he speciously denominates *organic molecules*. Making them act according to certain terms, and with a certain effect, he thinks  
he

he can explain the great work of generation, and the most inscrutable phenomena it presents, and employs all that powerful and persuasive eloquence which characterises him as the orator of the age. Prejudiced in favour of his theory, it was not difficult for him to find it in nature. His views were less directed to see what actually existed than to what he wished to find; not otherwise than his celebrated countryman, the reformer of botany, who fancied that metals and stones vegetated, and thought he had evidence of this imaginary vegetation, that he saw seeds and plants where there were none. If this learned academician, who has ever possessed my full esteem, will take the trouble to repeat his experiments on the semen of man and animals, with better microscopes, and, forgetting his favourite organic molecules, impose a rule on himself to receive as truth nothing but the images transmitted by the senses, without adding the corrections of imagination, as is the duty of a veracious naturalist; I can assure him he will find all that I have witnessed a thousand times, and described so largely in my works. I earnestly entreat him not to reject this without a trial, which must certainly result to the advantage of truth.

I now mean to examine Buffon's objections intended to prove that the living beings seen in spermatic fluids are not real animals. Some of them

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have

have already been answered in the beginning of chapter 3; and it appears, from what I have hitherto said, that some are false; such as, the formation of the animals under the observer's eye; the loss of their tails, and diminution of size. Two yet remain to be spoken of; their division into parts, and their frequent change of shape. These phenomena are real, though never observed in seminal vermiculi, and only in the animalcula of infusions. M. de Buffon esteems them incompatible with the character of animality.

With regard to the objection concerning division, it is needless to stop here for a discussion; and I pass to the second relative to the metamorphoses of putredinous animalcula. It is true that the body of the animals familiar to us is so constructed that the shape never varies, and cannot be materially altered without destruction; but it is no less true, that there are others experiencing the contrary; as for example, among insects, many species of worms. To be convinced of this, it is only necessary to glance at the operations of Nature, or to open the works of naturalists. How many worms of this kind have been elegantly described by Redi and Vallisneri! A single species may serve for many, and this is the *cucurbit* worm. Is it not certain by the observations of these two, especially of the Tuscan philosopher, that they assume numerous and various

nious shapes, and, to use his own words, ‘Some-  
 ‘times they contract and swell into purses, some-  
 ‘times they extend and curve into a semicircle.’  
 Does not Reaumur say the same of certain  
 worms changing into flies, whose head, that part  
 constantly the same in most animals, in this in-  
 sect so wonderfully changes its appearance as to  
 be sometimes extended, depressed, or contracted;  
 sometimes obtuse in one part, and acute in an-  
 other. Do not we daily see the same changes  
 in earth-worms, snails, and particularly in leech-  
 es, extending the body till it is long and slender,  
 then contracting till it becomes short and corpu-  
 lent, or growing thick at one end and small at  
 the other? What shall we say of the wheel ani-  
 mal, that aquatic creature, which, from its won-  
 derful metamorphoses, we may term the Proteus of  
 the insect tribe? If wheel animals, earth-worms,  
 leeches, shell and naked snails, and so many  
 species of worms (1), are not degraded from the  
 rank of other animals, notwithstanding their dif-  
 ferent mutations of figure, the same should be the  
 case with the living beings in putrid semen (2).

Two

(1) The [author] does not mean that these animals be-  
 long to the class of vermes.—T.

(2) Notwithstanding this, Leeuwenhoeck observes, ‘Al-  
 though seminal animalcula are shaped like an eel, they can  
 contract their bodies so much as to become round.’—T.



Two other objections are still to be appretiated; one deduced from the singular motion of seminal vermiculi; the other from the different effects of heat and cold upon them. Let us attend to the first. An animal, according to M. de Buffon's reasoning, is subject to change its inclinations. Sometimes its motion is quick, sometimes slow, then it stops and rests. But nothing of this occurs in seminal vermiculi: they are in continual motion, never rest, and, when once they stop, it is for ever. Hence they cannot be animals. This objection is, like the former, both being founded on the analogy of the large animals best known to us; which, as they do not change their shape, naturally have the vicissitudes of rest or motion, of accelerated motion, or the like. But to admit that such vicissitudes are certainly a characteristic quality of animals, it is improper to consider these alone; it is necessary to examine other genera and other species, and to dwell particularly on the smallest, especially those inhabiting fluids which have more analogy to spermatic vermiculi. It is undoubted, that among them M. de Buffon would have found several animals, which, far from having the alternatives of motion and rest, are naturally in motion; so that their life seems to consist in a perpetual motion. To ascertain the fact, it is necessary, during summer, to observe the water of marshes,

marshes, ponds, and ditches, where all insects are. There we shall see some in motion by constant contortions; as, for example, the worms mentioned by M. Trembley, serving polypi for food: the body is continually in oscillation (1). Without the trouble of seeking them in the country, M. de Buffon may at his leisure observe it at home in the eels or serpentuli generally found among vinegar. If a small portion of this liquid is put in a thin glass vessel, and exposed to the light when the sun shines bright, on examining the higher parts with a magnifier, where the eels are more distinctly seen, their contortions and undulations appear incessant; they dart from one side to another, and continue thus from morning to night; in this manner do they persevere several months, that is, to the end of their lives. It would seem, from these facts, that the perpetual motion of seminal vermiculi cannot be a sufficient reason for proving they are not animals. But, farther, such motion is not natural to the vermiculi; it is forced and violent; for they have quitted their native abode to enter our atmosphere; they experience the lively impression of the air, which hurts and injures them, and constrains them to perpetual flight. Doubtless the air is noxious, and occasions their continual motion,

(1) *Memoires sur les polypes.*

tion, as is proved by facts. To fix the point, I waited till the human semen cooled. I then took some drops, and spread them very thin on a watch-glass. The vermiculi of the spread drops, though these were of considerable thickness, constantly perished sooner than those of the whole semen; because, as I think, the former were more exposed to the air. Two equal portions were taken at the same time, and the one put in a close and the other in an open vessel: the vermiculi of the latter always died sooner. The privation they underwent clearly ascertains how injurious this element was to them. They lived longer in vacuo than in the open air; so that all were dead, when some still lived in a vacuum. The difference of time in their death was an hour and a half, two, even three hours, and sometimes longer, according to the season of the experiments. These facts prove, that the air is noxious to the vermiculi; and the following evince that it is the cause of their being in continual agitation. Capillary tubes were made at the blow-pipe, and one end immersed in recent semen; it ascended the cavity of the tube to a considerable height. Breaking the tubes near the part to which it rose, I presented this extremity to the blow-pipe, and instantly sealed it. The same was done to the other end, by which means the seminal fluid was deprived of all communication with the external air.

air. The tubes were so drawn out, that the thinness of the glass permitted me to see the vermiculi within. The peculiarities they presented were very different from those of the rest. All, or at least most of them, had a singular mode of moving; some had that kind of motion observed in those exposed to the open air; others had a continual irregular motion, changing from velocity to inaction and reciprocally; others stopped entirely, and, after resting several minutes, resumed their former rapidity: we did not see them inconsiderately strike against the solid portions of the semen, as was remarked in the first chapter, but always avoiding them and turning aside or retreating. These peculiarities indeed succeeded better, and with more uniformity, when the tubes were kept warm. I have before said, the longest period of life of the human vermiculi is seven or eight hours when exposed to the open air; but how much is it prolonged when they are included in tubes? In summer I have succeeded in preserving them two days or more, and in spring and autumn almost three (1).

It

(1) Authors dispute very much concerning the duration of the life of these animals. Some have supposed they live only a few hours, and others, several days. Leeuwenhoeck is a most exact observer; he says, he put the semen

It will undoubtedly seem paradoxical, that the vermiculi live longer in spring and autumn than in summer. The reverse apparently should happen; for the heat of summer should be more congenial to them, as it approaches nearer to the natural heat of living man. At first, it gave me considerable surprise, nor was it diminished on reflecting, that in open air they live much longer when the weather is warm. This induced me to repeat my experiments. And I constantly found, that, during summer, they never lived as long in tubes as during spring and autumn. In summer, they absolutely die sooner on the warmest days. With a little reflection, it is not difficult to comprehend the cause of the difference. We have seen that the semen of man and animals, when removed from its natural situation, very soon becomes putrid, and putrefaction takes place earlier as the heat is greater to which it is exposed. To this cause, therefore, I ascribe the more  
immediate

men of a dog in a glass tube during summer; many *animalcula* were dead the first day, more on the second and third, and on the fourth very few were alive. Next year, he examined some semen taken from the same dog; for seven days and nights, some *animalcula* were still alive, and a few swam with as much velocity as if they had recently come from the animal. *De diuturna vita animalculorum in semine masculo canis.*—T.

immediate death of vermiculi in capillary tubes during summer. Having filled similar tubes with recent semen, and sealed them hermetically, I exposed some to the heat of the atmosphere at about  $63^{\circ}$ , and others to the heat of the human body, keeping them in the axilla in a large glass tube. In a state of health, my own heat is about  $97^{\circ}$ . The vermiculi exposed to the heat of the atmosphere lived two days and a half; some even three; but those experiencing the heat of my body supported it only thirteen hours. Their more immediate death cannot be ascribed to the greater degree of heat, since it is about the same as what preserves them alive, or in which they generally live: Nor can we ascribe it to any other noxious principle arising from the nature of the tubes, since they were perfectly similar to those exposed to the atmospheric temperature. It therefore becomes necessary to recur to some alteration or noxious quality contracted by the semen, which makes heat accelerate their death: and I acknowledge, that I cannot find this alteration or injurious quality but in the principle of putrefaction, which is manifested by the fætor on breaking the tubes: certainly it is this that must be fatal to the vermiculi, as I shall demonstrate in Chapter 6. The putrefying principle does not commence in the semen exposed to the open air only seven or eight hours in summer.

On

On the other hand, as the heat of summer nearer than that of any other season approaches what the vermiculi experience in us, we clearly see why they then live longer in the open air than at any other time: and for the same reason we may understand why life is abridged in proportion as the cold increases.

But it is time to come to the objection of heat and cold which the author thus proposes. On exposing the semen to the cold air, the vermiculi did not seem to suffer from it. They continued moving with their usual quickness as long as those not exposed, though the fluid had acquired that degree of cold in water on the point of freezing, as one might be convinced by touching it. On the contrary, if the same vermiculi suffer heat, their motion ceases, although the heat is moderate. In consequence of these facts, if the vermiculi are real animals (I am relating Buffon's reasoning) they will exhibit an appearance and constitution very different from the appearance and constitution of other animals; as too much cold relaxes and destroys motion, whereas mild and moderate heat preserves it.

We must regret that our author, instead of using taction to judge of heat or cold, did not employ a thermometer; for all philosophers know the touch is a very equivocal proof. He ought to have discovered precisely at what degree  
of





repeated during winter. They constantly proved, that the duration of motion was proportioned to the temperature of the atmosphere.

In prosecuting my experiments on the semen of the horse in summer, a thought occurred of subjecting vermiculi to the cold of freezing, by immersing the glass that contained them in snow. The same effect was produced as by the winter's cold, that is, in fourteen minutes, it made them motionless; though, when exposed in another glass to the heat of the atmosphere, they moved seven hours and a half. An accident that happened in the summer experiments afforded new intelligence, and divested me of a prejudice. Observing that the vermiculi had become motionless, I took the glass from the snow, and left it exposed to the air at  $81^{\circ}$ . An hour after, it astonished me to find all the vermiculi reanimated in such a manner as if they had just come from the seminal vessels. I then perceived the cold had not been fatal, but had reduced them to a state of complete inaction. They were replaced among the snow, and in three quarters of an hour being taken out, I observed these phenomena: In a few minutes, their vivacity relaxed, and the diminution increased until they lost the motion of progression, and retained that of oscillation only, which also ended in a few minutes more. Exactly the reverse was seen, when they passed from the

the cold of snow to the heat of the atmosphere. The first motion that appeared was oscillation; the body and tail began a languid vibration from right to left; and reciprocally; motion was then communicated to the whole vermiculus. At first, it was scarcely perceptible; it soon increased, and grew very considerable. It should likewise be added, as cold does not render all the vermiculi motionless at the same moment, but some later than others, neither does heat affect all with equal power.

I subjected the seminal fluids of man and the bull to the same experiment, and had the same results as from the semen of the horse, except that a degree of cold less than freezing immediately destroyed all motion in the vermiculi of the bull:

On approach of the following winter, the same experiments were resumed; and I succeeded in reanimating torpid vermiculi by breathing on the semen, by applying my finger to the tube on which some drops were put, or by placing it near the fire. Removed from this reviving heat, they fell into the same lethargy as when in summer they were transmitted from the atmospherical temperature to the cold of snow. During the rigorous season, I exposed them to a more severe trial: they were exposed to cold above  $9^{\circ}$  below freezing. As might have been expected,

it immediately rendered them motionless. In five minutes, not a single vermicule moved. When they had been exposed five minutes longer, they were transported into warm air, and left there for some time. Although this intense cold continued ten minutes, the semen was not frozen, but it had fatally injured a complete third of its inhabitants. They evinced no sign of life when removed to, and kept long in, a warm situation; on the contrary, they had all the appearance of death. The other vermiculi recovered indeed, but their motion was languid in comparison to what it was before. The experiment was made 15 December, and repeated on the evening of January 5 at 10° under freezing.—In about a quarter of an hour, I perceived the semen begin to congeal about the edges of the glass; I then put it in a stove, but it was an ineffectual remedy for the vermiculi. Not one recovered; and those environed by the ice perished as well as those in the fluid parts. The like happened to the vermiculi of other two glasses, on which I made the same experiments this evening, notwithstanding care was taken to regulate the different degrees of heat, lest too sudden transition from heat to cold might be injurious.

Such were the experiments with cold: any one may draw the conclusions. Very far from excluding vermiculi from the rank of animals, it surprisingly

surprisingly confirms them in it. For what can more satisfactorily prove it than seeing languor become more immediate as the cold is more intense; seeing the vermiculi revive when brought to heat; and to witness their actual death, when the cold is of a greater degree? Such is the state of most small animals, deprived of action and rendered torpid by cold; with heat, they recover life and motion, and yield under cold still more intense.

How can these facts, multiplied, repeated, uniform, consequently certain and incontrovertible, subsist with the assertions of Buffon, who supposes cold does not impede the motion of seminal vermiculi? Instead of negating this illustrious Frenchman's affirmation, I think there is a method of conciliating our observations. We have already remarked the error which occasioned his confounding vermiculi with animalcula, and ascribing to the former the properties pertaining to the latter only. It is very likely, that the effect of cold he has observed on vermiculi is also a consequence of the same mistake; and this is the more probable as it is seen in putredinous seminal animalcula. Nor do the animalcula of infusions alone, at least many species, withstand cold of a great degree; for those found in putrid ~~fermen~~ are undoubtedly of that number. Several experiments convince me of it; but to avoid the

ennui of my reader, I shall not detail them. There is one circumstance which ought not to be passed in silence; that although these animalcula can support more cold than seminal vermiculi, their motion does become languid; and, on increasing it considerably, they perish like insects which yield to the greatest degree of cold.

When I found these methods of conciliating Buffon's experiments and my own, with regard to the phenomena from cold, I attempted to find the same respecting those exhibited by heat, but that was impossible. My observations have been directly opposite to his. Those he made are comprehended in a few words: "The motion of vermiculi ceases when they are exposed to a small degree of heat." I entreat the reader to examine mine, that he may be enabled to compare and form an opinion.

Two watch-glasses were put on water contained in a vessel, one containing a portion of recent semen, full of vermiculi; the other, an equal quantity of semen, old and swarming with putridinous animalcula. To know the successive degrees of heat, I had put the ball of a thermometer into each glass. The water was gradually heated on a slow fire. As the thermometers rose, I took some drops of semen from the glasses for examination with the microscope. The putridinous animalcula were very vivacious at  $99^{\circ}$ ; at  $104^{\circ}$ ,  
their

their motion began to grow languid; at  $106^{\circ}$  and  $108^{\circ}$ , all perished. Seminal vermiculi are of a more hardy constitution: they were active at  $111^{\circ}$ ; some began to perish at  $120^{\circ}$ ; and at  $131^{\circ}$ , there was not one alive: so that the difference which occasions the destruction of the one and the other is about 22 degrees. The vermiculi were those of human semen. The same experiments were made on the semen of the horse, the bull, and the dog. There was some little difference: those of the horse and dog perished at  $126^{\circ}$ , those of the bull at  $133^{\circ}$ .

A number of capillary tubes were next filled with semen, partly full of seminal vermiculi, and partly of putredinous seminal animalcula. I sealed them hermetically, and put them at the bottom of a vessel of water, which was gradually warmed. A thermometer was also immersed. When the water had attained  $99^{\circ}$  of heat, I began to examine the tubes one after another, as the heat increased. The seminal vermiculi of man, and the other animals, died at  $122^{\circ}$  and  $124^{\circ}$ ; and the putredinous animalcula at  $106^{\circ}$  and  $108^{\circ}$ .

These facts demonstrate, that animalcula, originating in putrid semen, are of a constitution better calculated to resist heat, which many other animals support, and which die only at the same degree that animalcula from putrid substances

die, or nearly about it. And seminal vermiculi, instead of ceasing to move and perishing at a small degree of heat, according to M. De Buffon, support as much as is destructive to many other animals; which far from being wonderful is rather congenial to their nature, since they live in warm blooded animals, that is, in an atmosphere in general much warmer than the air, and other fluids where animals are found, and it is fit that they should be able to resist much greater heat.

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#### CHAP. VI.

##### NEW EXPERIMENTS AND OBSERVATIONS TENDING TO DETERMINE THE NATURE OF SEMINAL VER- MICULI.

I FLATTER myself that the reader will not be displeased, if he does not find the same order and connection in the rest of the observations, which I have hitherto endeavoured to preserve. It is necessary to consider what follows as an appendix, which, in my opinion, must indispensably be added to prove the animation of the vermiculi

culi with greater certainty ; this being one of the chief objects proposed : and, when once established, not only will the contradictory opinions concerning the nature of spermatic vermiculi, already explained and discussed, be confuted, but we may also anticipate every new hypothesis that can be suggested.

One day, during winter, I had abundance of semen, taken from the vessels of a dead body (1); and, wishing to preserve the vermiculi some hours alive, put the glass containing them in the sunshine, on the outside of a window. The heat of the sun was  $70^{\circ}$ , which kept them alive a considerable time : but observing the vermiculi an hour afterwards, it gave me extreme surprise to find almost the whole motionless. I knew not whether this indicated real or apparent death ; and, thinking to satisfy myself by exposing them to greater heat, I transported them near the fire. Experience had taught me how instrumental heat is in restoring vermiculi to motion. But it was in vain ; and although kept here a long time, they manifested no sign of life. It was otherwise with those left in the shade, and these carried to the fire ; for there was another portion of semen in a watch-glass in the same apartment. The vermiculi also had

(1) When the kind of semen is not specified, that of man is always understood.



had become motionless, but they soon resumed their original vivacity. The singularity of the phenomenon made me suppose it accidental, and I did not think of repeating the experiment during this winter and the following spring. But I had afterwards occasion to observe, that the sun was constantly fatal to vermiculi in a few hours; though the intensity of the heat did not equal the degree which, in the preceding chapter, is said to have been fatal to them. This was ascertained by means of the sun in autumn; but the phenomenon, which I at first thought accidental, has appeared constant and invariable. The solar influence, at the same time, has no quality noxious to the putredinous animalcula of the same semen, provided its intensity does not raise the thermometer to  $106^{\circ}$  or  $108^{\circ}$ , which also contributes to prove the difference between the vermiculi and animalcula.

The novelty of such results was a sufficient incentive for investigating the cause. Experiment having shewn me that a certain degree of solar heat quickly kills vermiculi, though an equal degree in an apartment does no injury, I could not be persuaded that the simple heat of the sun caused their destruction, but imagined something entirely different. My first idea was, the agitation of the air: I conceived that, by putting the semen on the outside of the window, the vermiculi were  
more

more affected by the sensible influence of this element, and sooner yielded under it than those within the apartment, where the air was less agitated. My supposition was erroneous ; for, putting out two glasses with the same semen, equally exposed to the air, and only with the difference, that one was in the sunshine and the other in the shade, those in the sun always died sooner than those in the shade. Further : a division was put in the seminal fluid of the same glass, separating it into two parts, so that one was exposed to the sunshine and the other was not ; it uniformly happened, that the vermiculi of this latter portion long survived those of the other.

Attentively contemplating that in the solar rays with the naked eye, I suspected another cause. The semen both greatly diminished, and became denser ; likewise, the colour changed. This increased density might be prejudicial. An easy method was employed to ascertain the fact, which was to prevent the evaporation of the semen in the sun, because the density might be occasioned by evaporation of the more volatile parts ; and my purpose was attained by hermetically sealing several capillary tubes full of semen, and then exposing them to the sun, along with another portion of semen in a watch-glass. The thermometer stood at  $73^{\circ}$  in the sun. Those in the watch-glass

glafs did not live an hour ; but the vermiculi in the capillary tubes retained all their vigour at fun-set, though the experiment was made in the morning ; and an hour after mid-day, the heat of the sun was  $104^{\circ}$ . On the succeeding days, other capillary tubes were put in the sunshine as above ; the vermiculi, as usual, were long alive. Therefore these repeated facts prove two things ; *first*, That the sudden death of vermiculi in sunshine is not properly the effect of the sun, as it would have killed those in the capillary tubes as soon as those in the open vessels ; *secondly*, We can ascribe their immediate death only to some vicious quality or alteration acquired by the semen, when exposed to the air, and against which it is secured in a close vessel. But as it does not seem to arise from any other cause than the inspissating of the semen, for putrefaction cannot begin in so short a time, we are induced to suppose this the sole cause of their death, at least an essential reason.

These facts are illustrated by the following experiments : Two glass tubes filled with semen to a given height, and stopped with a stopper well fitted, were placed in the sunshine : one stopper touched the semen ; the other was an inch above it : the tubes were in an erect position, and an equal quantity of semen in each. In an hour and a half, the influence of the sun had occasioned no  
evaporation

evaporation in the tube with the stopper touching the semen ; indeed it was impossible, as no vacuity was between them ; but the semen in the other tube had evaporated. The inside of the glass and the end of the stopper were covered with a thin pellicle, formed of a very transparent fluid, which could be nothing but the more subtile parts of the semen volatilized by heat. The quantity was diminished, which could not be otherwise, and it was a little thicker ; neither of these circumstances was remarked in the other tube. Both the fluids were examined with a magnifier : the vermiculi were alive where there was no evaporation ; in the other tube all were dead. Thus it is evident, the solar heat does not kill the vermiculi ; but that their death is occasioned by some noxious quality imparted by it to the semen, either consisting in that thickness, or something else derived or generated on the occasion, which also corresponds with the nature of animals that are injured and perish, if the ambient fluid in which they live, aerial or aqueous, begins to alter and spoil.

It should likewise be explained how two degrees of heat, equally intense, can produce such opposite effects : for, the immediate action of sunshine kills the vermiculi, while that of a heated apartment does them no injury : but my observations  
have

tobacco, the effluvia of the most ardent liquors, and the electric spark, as I have proved, we shall have an assemblage of proofs so convincing, so decisive of the real and absolute animality of seminal vermiculi, that I know not what other evidence could be required to prove that atoms, minute as points in matter, are of such a nature as vermiculi seem to be.

I must justify myself for the inconsistency of what is now related, and the brief account of vermiculi in my first treatise on infusions (1). There I spoke negligently; I had not then studied them; but trusted to what others had written, and adopted the theory that seemed best supported by facts. I did not hesitate to embrace M. de Buffon's opinion; and, with him, supposed vermiculi were not real animals, as his sentiments appeared to be supported by observations more numerous, better detailed, more connected and convincing, than those of Leeuwenhoeck. At that time this was my opinion; and it would have always continued the same, had not the observations narrated here convinced me of the contrary; and I flatter myself that nobody will reproach me if my present sentiments are different from what they formerly were.

This

(1) Saggio di Osservazioni Microscopiche.

This chapter shall be terminated with some reflections equally curious and nice, respecting our vermiculi. They were communicated to me in a letter from M. Bonnet ; and the reader cannot judge better of their import than by having them before him. After informing me of Linnæus' singular opinion, that vermiculi are inert corpuscula floating in the semen, he adds, ' I return to the ' seminal vermiculi, whose existence cannot be ' doubted. Of all animalcula in fluids they are ' those that have excited my curiosity most. The ' element in which they live, the place of their ' abode, their figure, motion, secret properties, ' all, in a word, should interest us in so singular ' a kind of animated beings. How are they formed there; how propagated, developed, or fed ; ' and what is their motion ? What becomes of ' them when the liquid they inhabit is returned ' by the vessels, and mixed with the blood ? Why ' do they appear only at the age of puberty, or ' where did they exist before this period ? Do ' they serve no purpose but to people that fluid, ' where they are so largely dispersed ? How far ' are we from being able to answer most of these ' questions ? and how probable is it, that future ' ages will be almost as ignorant of the whole as ' our own. If, as I have said, in the *Palingenesie*, " our world has been chiefly made for intelli-  
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“ gence superior to our’s, it is that which knows  
“ the history of spermatic vermiculi, and that of  
“ the most mysterious productions of the globe,”  
“ part 12 and 13. You may see in Articles 131,  
“ 132, 133, 134, 135, of my *Corps Organisés*,  
“ that in my youth I attempted to study animal-  
“ cula. Observe what is said on this occasion in  
“ Article 135, concerning those of infusions.  
“ Respecting the appearance of animalcula in  
“ substances that have been boiled or exposed  
“ to a degree of heat at which we cannot con-  
“ ceive any animal may survive, the difficulty  
“ ought not to surprise us too much, as it is  
“ founded only on our ignorance of the heat  
“ that certain animals may support. Besides,  
“ it is not certain that the animalcula were not  
“ in the infused substances. Perhaps they might  
“ inhabit the air confined in the vessel, and pass  
“ from it to the infusion. Perhaps there is a  
“ perpetual circulation of aerial animalcula in  
“ organized bodies, and in bodies organized in  
“ the air.

“ No animalcula are better adapted than feminal  
“ vermiculi to demonstrate how well it pleases  
“ the Supreme Wisdom to multiply sentient be-  
“ ings, and leave no portion of nature void.  
“ Could we have suspected that this precious li-  
“ quid, the reproductive principle of large ani-  
“ mals, is at the same time destined for the  
“ aliment and pleasure of an innumerable mul-  
“ titude

“ multitude of most minute animated beings ? Thus  
 “ has the Adorable Wisdom presided over the  
 “ formation of the universe, and known to make  
 “ the same production serve for such different  
 “ purposes.

“ The Author of Nature, ’ ‘ Have I said, *Contem-*  
 “ *plation, Part. 5. Chap. 17,* ’ “ has left nothing  
 “ useless. The pollen consumed in the genera-  
 “ tion of plants is very little compared with the  
 “ whole quantity that each flower affords. Wis-  
 “ dom has therefore created the industrious bee,  
 “ which uses the superfluous part of this dust  
 “ with an art that the most skilful geometers  
 “ cannot enough admire. The pollen of the sta-  
 “ mina apparently supplies the necessities of many  
 “ other insects ; and these insects are in some re-  
 “ spect to pollen what vermiculi are to the  
 “ seminal fluid.

“ The origin of certain worms in the human  
 “ body, and that of animals, is a problem yet un-  
 “ solved by naturalists : such, in particular, is the  
 “ origin of the *Tenia* : in my Dissertation, I have  
 “ spoken at length of this singular worm. The  
 “ origin of spermatic vermiculi is a problem still  
 “ more profound. However, I should much in-  
 “ cline to presume, that, like those mentioned in  
 “ my Dissertation, they originate from without.  
 “ The change of temperature, abode, and nutri-  
 “ ment, may produce first in individuals, then in  
 “ species,



' species, very material alterations disguising the  
 ' primitive appearance to our view. A worm  
 ' destined to live in the waters, and transported  
 ' to our intestines, might not perish, and yet be  
 ' very much disguised, especially if introduced  
 ' when young, or under the form of an egg or of  
 ' semen; and if the worm was to propagate, the  
 ' subsequent generations would be still more dis-  
 ' guised. Let us, therefore, suppose that the fe-  
 ' mina of certain infusion animalcula may be in-  
 ' troduced into the feminal reservoirs by the cir-  
 ' culating ducts: they might be developed and  
 ' live there. No doubt, this new abode, a tem-  
 ' perature and aliment so different, may greatly  
 ' affect the original form of the animalcula, and  
 ' at length induce changes that may more and  
 ' more remove them from their first appearance.  
 ' All mankind had the same origin. What va-  
 ' rieties, what striking varieties are there in the  
 ' human species! Let us compare the inhabi-  
 ' tants of the frigid zone with those of the tem-  
 ' perate regions, and those of this with the inha-  
 ' bitants of the torrid zone; and we should sup-  
 ' pose we saw different species of men (1). The  
 ' femina

(1) M. Bonnet extends analogy too far: and himself  
 proves the dangers of analogical reasoning. Whether  
 there are actually different races of men on the earth,  
 which cannot have had the same origin, or whether all  
 may

‘femina of some infusion animalcula are proba-  
 ‘bly so minute, that they may easily arrive at the  
 D 3 ‘reservoirs

may have sprung from one parent, may well be the sub-  
 ject of dispute. It belongs to the philosopher to admit no-  
 thing but evidence. Prejudice, tradition, and analogy  
 must be rejected, else he will never attain the way to truth;  
 and facts alone must constitute the foundation of his  
 knowledge.

This is an important subject: it merits mature investiga-  
 tion. From the inquiries of modern naturalists, there is un-  
 doubtedly great reason to believe that there are conspicuous  
 varieties among the races of men now inhabiting the globe;  
 varieties so striking as neither to be affected by climate nor  
 the mode of life. Independent of the size of the person,  
 the colour of the skin and the nature of the hair, on all  
 which climate may in general have a considerable effect,  
 there is a difference in the figure of certain bones, and in  
 the length of others that seems peculiar to the men. The  
 quantity and proportion of flesh are variously distributed  
 over some parts of the body: and one of the strongest  
 evidences of a distinct race is the singular conformation  
 of the Egyptian and Abyssinian women, and those of the  
 interior of Southern Africa.

It is very possible that casual mutilations or natural im-  
 perfections may be transmitted to posterity: we have actual-  
 ly witnessed it on a small scale: yet I rather conceive that  
 they would disappear in subsequent generations. But  
 how can we suppose the numerous and important varie-  
 ties

' reservoirs of the seminal fluid. Apparently  
 ' they are excluded, but in those seminal fluids  
 ' that have acquired a certain degree of perfec-  
 ' tion, which happens only at the age of pu-  
 ' berty, it would be a most curious experiment  
 ' to try whether infusion animalcula would live  
 ' in some seminal fluids : And in the same man-  
 ' ner, whether the vermiculi would live in infu-  
 ' sions. Above all, the temperature of the place  
 ' and the fluid would need to be regulated. Who  
 ' can say that this experiment, which is certainly  
 ' new, will not succeed ? I communicate all my  
 ' ideas to you. My maxim is to despair of no-  
 ' thing in natural history. Why should we say a  
 ' thing is impossible, because we have not seen it  
 ' succeed ? This maxim is founded on our pro-  
 ' found ignorance of the secrets of nature, and on  
 ' the deviations she in many cases seems to make  
 ' from her ordinary course. Every where is an  
 ' universal latitude seen, yet I am ignorant of  
 ' the limits. They can be discovered by experi-  
 ' ment alone : and how much may experiments  
 ' of

ties which we behold arise from accidents that individuals  
 were subjected to in the most remote antiquity. Why  
 should it be more difficult to admit variety in the races of  
 men than of any other animated being inhabiting the  
 globe ?—T.

of all kinds be combined, multiplied, repeated, and perfected!

The difficulty of the questions proposed in this valuable extract is too well defined by its illustrious author not to be evident to all who possess the smallest portion of philosophy. It will always afford me a good excuse for only attempting to answer the doubts by distant conjectures. The questions may be reduced to three. 1. What is the origin of feminal vermiculi? 2. How do they propagate? 3. What purpose do they serve?

As to the first, though Bonnet makes no positive assertion, we perceive his inclination to think feminal vermiculi have an external origin. Such has been the opinion of many authors in esteem; and such is the opinion of those who suppose that the worms in the body of man and animals originate from without. Sir Charles Linnæus believes the abode of the *tenia* is in the waters; there he has found them very small, and even in some fishes, particularly in tench, which seems to favour this opinion (1). But we should be certain of the identity of the species found in water with that found in the human body, and of this we have not yet had sufficient proof. We

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cannot

(1) See the Italian translation of *La Contemplation*, part 10. ch. 26. Note, at the words, *Molte centinaia di piedi*.

cannot deny, at the same time, that very accurate observations demonstrate, that some worms, if not of the human body, at least of the bodies of particular animals, are produced by insects of the great world. Such are those inhabiting the rectum of the horse, the frontal sinus of sheep, goats, and the larynx of stags, as the eminent and most expert naturalists, Vallisneri and Reaumur, have discovered.

With respect to seminal vermiculi, my observations will not allow me to ascribe them to an external origin; was it so, I must certainly have once perceived it. More than fourteen years have elapsed since I have been occupied with infusions, with studying the waters of marshes, ponds, and ditches, for these are generally full of microscopic animalcula; and, with absolute sincerity, I can affirm, that among the innumerable minute animals contemplated by me, never was one seen resembling the seminal vermiculi of man and quadrupeds (1). I do not deny that, admitting

(1) This had already been remarked by Leeuwenhoeck, as appears from his 301 letter. ‘Licet varias, et indole diversissimas aquas contemplatus sim, nec istiusmodi animalcula, (id est spermatica), nec quidquam quod animalcula ista similitudine aliqua, vel figura referret, in ullis unquam aquis observaverim.’ Other observers agree with Leeuwenhoeck and myself as much as could be desired. Among 146 genera which Muller has classed, he has seen only

admitting they pass from water to animated bodies, they may possibly undergo some change or alteration, operated perhaps by the causes the Genevese philosopher details, which has been rendered probable by demonstrating, that animals which change their climate and aliment suffer such mutations, ‘*Ranæ in Ebusum Insulam de-  
latae colores mutant; Oves in regione septen-  
trionali albescunt, in meridionali nigrescunt,  
Sic Vulpes, Urbi, Lepores mutato loco, colores  
et quandoque mores mutant.*’ I likewise acknowledge that the body of vermiculi may change its proportions; that the parts may become larger or smaller according as the new element agrees with their nature; as also happens in plants carried to a foreign soil; but I cannot think they will lose their pristine figure to assume

only one, (which he calls *Cercaria*), resembling the seminal vermiculi of the ram. But this species, which is the only one that has been observed, and is very seldom found, (in infusione animali raro), would be far from being able to give existence to all the different species of vermiculi.—A.

Muller makes this remark on the *Cercaria Gyrinus*, There are others of the same genus that may resemble seminal vermiculi; and perhaps some of the *Trichodæ*. But of the many hundred figures in his *Animalcula Infusoria*, a work that no animalculist can want, certainly there are none that may be confounded with the vermiculi: Many, however, have tails unconnected with the motions of the body.—T.

forme are very different, or that the first change will be such as to prevent them being recognised, for then the internal structure must also be changed; and this is as much as to say, that after their former organs were wholly or partially changed, they should produce new ones, which would rather be a creation than a change.

The seminal vermiculi not only differ from animalcula in shape, but I have likewise shewn that they are of a nature and constitution essentially different. Such are the differences mentioned in the former chapter and that preceding it, but omitted here to avoid repetition.

M. Bonnet suggests a most ingenious experiment, to try whether seminal vermiculi will live in infusions, and infusion animalcula in seminal fluids. I had already done this in part; but, on transmitting the animalcula of putrid into recent semen, and the vermiculi of recent semen into that which was putrid, the whole animalcula and vermiculi perished. Yet, to satisfy the curiosity of my illustrious friend, instead of corrupted semen, I used vegetable infusions, and took the precaution to make them of the same heat as semen in the body of the animal, and that the semen where the animalcula were put should have the temperature of the atmosphere; however their death could never be prevented. There was a little difference; the vermiculi perished

perished immediately; the animals in a few minutes.

The great difference of aliment to which vermiculi must be accustomed, on passing from within into the semen of animals, seems to me a sufficient reason why that cannot be their origin. But the small animals of our world perish when obliged to change their food, as we see in caterpillars feeding on specific plants; when the plants are changed they die: so that, if we give silk worms any other than mulberry leaves they very soon suffer. That insects should die, it is not necessary the plants should be changed, even a change of the parts that they naturally occupy is sufficient. Let us consider those whose common abode is on the same tree; and how many hundred species inhabit the pear? Some feed and dwell on the ligneous parts; some insinuate themselves between the bark and the wood, and never leave them; some conceal themselves by folding several leaves together, and feed on the most delicate parts; others prefer the roots, and, by penetrating, form tumours there; some menage the flowers, and others the fruit. Let us change this order; let us transport the insects of the wood into the bark, and reciprocally; those of the leaves to the roots, and so on with the rest; it will not be long before they die. I cannot conceive why the same should not happen to spermatic



spermatic vermiculi on passing from without to the semen, since their aliment is completely changed. It is not enough to say, we have an example in the larvæ found in the horse, the sheep, or the stag, which live in a place where their existence did not begin; for I may answer, they have not passed from a large to a little world after living in the former, but are developed in the quadrupeds where they have been deposited by their parent flies, where they remain until maturity, and feed on the substance of the animal. If, before acquiring this maturity, their situation was fortuitously changed, it is most likely they would perish. We should see them perish, or rather not expand, if the flies laid their eggs elsewhere. Whence it follows, that this example confirms the general law.

If we cannot believe that vermiculi come from without, what is their origin? We shall answer what Vallisneri has said on the origin of the large worms in the human body.—They are produced, nourished, and multiplied in us and other animals:—they pass from generation to generation with the nutriment the mother affords in the uterus, or with the milk that is imbibed (1). This hypothesis seems to me much more probable than the other. According to M. De Buffon, the semen

(1) Vallisneri, T. 2, edition in folio.

men of the female is full of vermiculi perfectly like those of the male. I do not doubt that it is truly so. The same had been before observed and described by Signor Bono, a celebrated physician and an excellent observer of spermatric vermiculi, incapable of altering any fact, as he was unprejudiced in favour of theory. What has been remarked, by these two naturalists, I have sometimes, but rarely, seen in the blood. In my long remarked on the phenomena of circulation, I happened to observe, in the mesenteric blood of a frog and three newts, I know not how many of the seminal vermiculi peculiar to these amphibia. There was no hazard of deception, because there was no room for error. One cannot think, these vermiculi were mixed with the blood, from the rupture of some of the blood vessels of the testicles or vasa deferentia, since the frog and two of the newts were females; and the blood vessels, as well as the generative organs of the male, were entire, as I assured myself by a careful examination. The vermiculi were actually confined in the vessels, and were most vivacious. They appeared in the arteries, excepting a single time that I saw them in a vein. The artery of a frog tadpole shewed me some again: some were even seen in the blood, still warm, of a sucking calf; and several among the red globules in the blood of a ram. I could not but recognise them,

as they had all the characteristics of the seminal vermiculi, peculiar to the two species of animals. These observations prevented my surprise, when mixing a drop of semen with a drop of blood, so that the vermiculi were forced from their proper liquid into the blood, they still lived as before. The same has taken place with saliva ; and it is natural to suppose it will happen with other animal fluids.

From these facts I draw two conclusions ; *first*, That it is not absurd to suppose that the mother may serve as a vehicle for the seminal vermiculi to transmit them to the young ; *secondly*, That they live in the fluids of the young, particularly the blood, and are, *in a manner*, retained there until puberty. I say, *in a manner*, because the rareness of seminal vermiculi in the blood sufficiently proves it is not a fluid that agrees too well with them ; perhaps, because the aliment found there is not very well adapted to their nature ; and although the semen is derived from the blood, they are two very different fluids. To this it may be opposed, that the vermiculi found in the blood of the male are re-absorbed by the vessels, and mixed with the mass of the blood. The objection would be well founded if applied only to adult males ; but it is insufficient where they are not so, as tadpoles and sucking calves. The organs of generation are not unfolded in  
the

the former; and those of the latter are not inhabited by vermiculi.

Besides the mother, the father may be an instrumental cause in the propagation of vermiculi: which may take place with almost every species of animal. This method is at least more direct, or perhaps more natural than the other: I speak of the act of fecundation, which may convey the germs of the vermiculi to the embryo by the immediate vehicle of the semen. That the eggs of females may be impregnated, they must be bedewed by the spermatic fluid of the male, which must act on the included embryo: it should act not only externally, but also internally: for we know that it regulates the parts of the foetus (1). Therefore it is necessary that the foetus should be penetrated by it; and in this way may the vermicular germs be easily introduced. These expand or lay the foundation of a little colony of vermiculi, which take possession of the femal fluid, and give birth to numerous inhabitants.

The second question relates to the mode in which vermiculi propagate. In the number of experiments, almost infinite, that I have made, my attention has always been directed to this interesting point. After seeing a prodigious multitude of infusor animalcula multiply by division of the body,

(1) Bonnet, Pref. a la Contemplation.

body, I investigated whether seminal vermiculi propagated in the same manner, but there has been no indication of this. It is true, when they pass from the animal's body, or when the vermiculi begin to be in a morbid state, they are less fit for dividing than when in their natural state in the seminal reservoirs when vigorous and full of life. I do not deny that this is possible; but admitting it was so, it seems morally impossible that, among so many millions of vermiculi, which I have at different times observed: among so many species, there was not one in a state to divide, or which did divide, as is seen with the animalcula of infusions. Neither have I observed that vermiculi propagate by buds or shoots, like polypi. Therefore, abiding by the different modes of propagation hitherto known, it would appear a proper conclusion, that seminal vermiculi multiply by means of a foetus, or of eggs; but I must admit, that neither the one nor the other has been seen by me.

I come to the last question. What is the use of the vermiculi? Leeuwenhoeck's opinion is well known: He thinks they are the immediate authors of generation; so that those of man will be so many homunculi; those of the bull, so many vituli; those of the horse, so many foals; and thus of the rest. We cannot deny the idea is very ingenious: it is unfortunate that it is not real.

real. I should deviate from my plan, by attempting to refute it. Authors, celebrated and known to natural philosophers, have done so with success. But I cannot resist saying a word on the beautiful discovery of Haller, which is completely decisive. He proves, by facts so convincing that it is impossible to withhold our assent, that the foetus belongs to the female; that entire, it pre-exists fecundation (1). It is evident, therefore, that the vermiculi afforded by the male cannot be foetuses. The facts establishing this discovery are explained in his excellent treatise on the chicken.

Though we refuse the vermiculi this noble purpose, we do not fail to ascribe others to them. Some physiologists have supposed them the cause of venereal pleasures; others, that they preserve the fluidity of the semen; and some, that they effect certain unknown purposes. All have endeavoured to divine their use.—There exists in us, and in other animals, this wonderful multitude of living beings, and many larger vermes, of which

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(1) The author discovered that the tadpoles of frogs, toads, and newts, pre-existed fecundation; that they existed in the egg produced by the mother, before it was moistened by the semen of the male, *Dissertations on Animals and Vegetables*. He also discovered, that, in the egg of the torpedo, a foetus exists previous to fecundation, *Lettera Sopra Diverse Produzione Marine*.—T.

the eminent Redi has given a history in a work on the subject (1). Beginning with man, and descending to animals, not excepting the smallest, each in like manner has external insects which it feeds, as the same naturalist proves in another treatise (2). But why do all these races of animals inhabit the internal and external parts of others? Why were they created? This, I think, is beyond the sphere of human knowledge; and it will not displease, if here I should be silent. And I hope I shall be pardoned for only guessing at the other two; their intricacy has prevented me from doing more.

The intent of this tract was to examine, with all possible attention and accuracy, the properties and nature of the mysterious inhabitants of animal seminal fluids; and I have taken the liberty to discuss and refute the opinion of others, learned in the subject, because their celebrity and division had created doubt. The intelligent, judicious, and impartial reader is left to consider whether I have succeeded, and whether I have dissipated, at least diminished, the obscurity that veiled them from the truth.

(1) Degli animali viventi negli animali viventi.

(2) Esperienze intorno agli insetti.

OBSER-

## OBSERVATIONS AND EXPERIMENTS

ON

ANIMALS AND VEGETABLES CONFINED IN STAGNANT  
AIR.

## INTRODUCTION.

If privation of air is a powerful method of preventing the production of animated beings, and of destroying life in those already in existence, the presence of air itself, when its circulation is impeded, is considered equally noxious. A general rule has been established, that all animals and vegetables forced to respire the air of close vessels perish irrecoverably. It is thought equally certain, that seeds do not germinate, and eggs are not excluded in this situation. The great Boerhaave speaks thus of all. "*Ovula quorumcumque insectorum in vitris accurate clausis non producunt, licet tepore fota, foetus; semina plantarum vite macerata, optimæ commissa ter-*

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" *ra,*



“*ræ*, atque requisito excitata calore, non tamen  
 “*crescunt*, neque dant vitæ ulla signa actuo-  
 “*fæ* (1).”

Such is the received opinion of all philosophers and naturalists, which for many years I confidently adopted, and believed certain with respect to the animal and vegetable kingdoms. But my experiments on infusions inspired me with a just distrust. I had discovered that the animalcula of infusions were produced, and lived, in vessels hermetically sealed; and that the seeds used for the infusions germinated. These facts did not correspond with the general belief; and excited a lively desire of instituting a number of experiments to investigate the limits and conditions of the physical maxim, That air which is confined and cannot be renewed is noxious to beings in life, whether animals or vegetables. With this design, I resolved to repeat and to diversify my experiments on infusion animalcula and vegetable seeds growing in close vessels; and also to make experiments on some animals, whose great analogy to infusion animalcula would induce us to suppose that the noxious influence of stagnant air could not so easily affect them as it would affect animals ranking higher in the scale of beings. My experiments were therefore made on the eggs of many terrestrial and aquatic in-  
 sects;

(1) Elem. Chem.

### III. CONFINED IN STAGNANT AIR. 69

fects ; and nature has afforded those illustrations which former authors have sought in vain.

From effects I ascended to causes, and investigated why confined air could, in certain situations, be injurious to animated beings. Thus, passing from one research to another, the work insensibly increased in my hands, and became much more considerable than I expected. Since I now presume to publish it, that the tedium of the reader may be lessened, it is divided into three sections or chapters. The principal objects of the two last are researches on the cause of animals dying in confined air ; and the first comprehends a view of those beings that are subject to its influence only in certain circumstances.

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#### CHAP. I.

INFUSIONS, VEGETABLE SEEDS, ANIMALS EGGS, AND ANIMALS THEMSELVES, SUBJECTED TO STAGNANT AIR.

I PROVIDED a certain number of vessels : In each I put an infusion of vegetable seeds, and then sealed them hermetically. They were made expressly for the purpose, large, and each might

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contain

contain fourteen or fifteen pounds of water (1). It was not necessary to break the vessels for examining the infusions, but sufficient to cause the included liquid flow to a dry part of the vessel; and, after it had flowed back, to observe the part that had been wet, with a powerful magnifier. The glass was so transparent, that animalcula, if any were produced, could be seen swimming in the thin pellicle adhering to the internal surface of the vase.

My experiments were made towards the end of spring; and it was not long before animalcula began to inhabit the vessels, and inhabit the whole. The periods of their increase, diminution, and destruction, were the same as in the open air.

On repeating the same experiment often with different feeds, all afforded animalcula. One difference was to be remarked. The number was never so prodigiously great which I have observed before. One mode by which these animals propagate is, the natural division of the body; and this division also succeeds in confined air. Applying the magnifier to the side of the vessel, I sometimes saw them dividing through the middle; so that the parts were connected by a short filament; others appeared like two minute elongated spheres,

(1) Twelve ounces in the pound.

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spheres, touching in several points; others exhibited a contraction, or rudiments of division hardly begun, on the outside of the body.

The duration of life, and the multiplication observed in infusion animalcula, were likewise seen in the anguillae of vinegar confined in close vessels. From the beginning of April to the end of November, they were visible, and continually became more numerous. It is true, as winter advanced, the eels perished; but the same happened to those of vinegar in the open air, which was occasioned by the increased cold. We know that vinegar is without eels during winter.

While I made these experiments, the water of several ditches was full of worms, insects, and the tadpoles of frogs. On them were repeated the same experiments as had been made on the animalcula of infusions and the eels of vinegar. I began with the larvæ of muskitoes. Many were confined in vessels with ditch water, that they might find aliment among the quantity of heterogeneous matter which it was full of. The larvæ suffered nothing from confinement: all changed to nymphs, which in time produced the flies.

Tadpoles were also confined in vessels, along with a sufficient quantity of water, and marsh lentil for food. For twenty-four days, their size increased considerably; and they died less from stagnation of the air, it is probable, than be-

E 4

cause

cause the lentil was completely consumed. The tadpoles were young : I repeated the experiment on grown tadpoles, whose limbs had already begun to appear ; chusing this period to learn whether they underwent their metamorphosis in stagnant air. Several did undergo it, and divested themselves of the tadpole form to assume that of the frog ; but others perished before attaining their new state.

Animals inhabiting the waters are not under the same necessity of continually respiring air, as those destined by nature to live amidst the air itself : therefore it was fit to make some experiments on the latter. And having made several on tadpoles, that is, on a species of animals changing their state, I was desirous to repeat them on other animals of the same nature. Caterpillars immediately occurred ; and my first experiments were on silk worms. Those that were taken would in a few days have begun to spin their web. Leaving them on a mulberry branch, the ligneous extremity of which was immersed in water, that the verdure of the leaves might be some time preserved and serve for food, I sealed them hermetically in a vessel. Above a third perished ; but the rest, being eleven in number, proceeded as usual ; they worked the accustomed web, fixed to the side of the vessel, and there shut themselves up. Butterflies came from

from nine webs : from two, there came none. On examining the sterile webs, I found the caterpillar transformed to a chrysalis ; but the butterfly did not come out, as it died while in this state. The webs of the eleven caterpillars in this close vessel were of good filk ; and their only difference from others was in not being so hard and elastic as cocoons generally are.

Other caterpillars, especially those of the elm and oak, underwent changes similar to the filk-worms in close vessels. The same method was adopted of confining them in vessels where the lower extremities of branches had been immersed in water.

The metamorphoses of the larvæ of large flesh flies were more distinctly seen. I put a piece of flesh nearly putrid at the bottom of one of the vessels : it served them for food nine days, that is, all the time they were worms, and until they became nymphs. We know, that when their change approaches, they abandon the putrid flesh, and, seeking a dry situation, most commonly conceal themselves under an arid dusty earth. Those confined likewise abandoned the flesh, traversed the vessel, and were in constant motion more than half a day. Their anxiety to escape was evident ; but, unable to effect it, they retired to the sides at the extremity of the neck of the vessel, which was almost parallel with the floor, and became

became perfectly tranquil. There they insensibly contracted ; their shape and colour disappeared ; they assumed a light chestnut shade ; and exhibited every sign of being changed to nymphs. In this state, they remained fourteen days ; then, the shell bursting, flies completely resembling the parent fly escaped. The winged insects lived several days in their prison, and died apparently for want of food.

A few words may be said concerning the seeds used for infusions. They developed like the animalcula ; all germinated well ; and in a few days, the budding and branching of the leaves filled the capacity of my vessels. I should not omit observing, that the whole of these vegetations shewed symptoms of disease, whether from decaying before fructification or from their yellowish colour. Suspecting that this disease was not so much the effect of privation of circulating air as of the beneficent influence of the sun, and the moisture that the roots must supply, which could not be obtained from the small quantity of water, I endeavoured to ascertain the real cause. The same quantity of seeds was put into vessels hermetically sealed, and, instead of water, I substituted a portion of well moistened earth. The plants soon sprung up ; and, being exposed in the sun beams some hours of the day, in a short time, reached the summit of the vessel without becoming

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coming yellow till after a considerable interval. The seeds were pease, maize, red wheat, and rye. I planted two stalks of rye under the neck of the vessel, where there was a sufficient space for their elevation: the neck being very long, they exhibited unequivocal marks of incipient fructification by the ear shooting out of the calyx; and it would have made the greatest progress but for the approach of winter.

To complete what has been said of seeds confined in vessels, it may be remarked, that I have in this way observed more than twenty species at different times without finding one that did not germinate. A precaution essential to their production must be attended to: whenever they spring in water, which takes place in close as well as in open vessels, the infused seeds must be partially above the water, otherwise they perish: which was adverted to before me by the celebrated naturalist M. Duhamel.

If vegetable seeds germinate without exception in confined air, what are we to think of animal semina, or the eggs of insects, which, according to Boerhaave, and the general opinion of philosophers, should remain sterile, even when the operation of circumstances the most favourable to their production concurs? Here I thought it better to consult nature than to trust to the sentiments of others. I therefore made experiments on many eggs: on those of beetles, flies, flesh flies,



flies, nocturnal and diurnal butterflies, worms, and others, and scrupulously observed what happened to each kind. I foresee the reader's anxiety to learn the result of these experiments; and in two words his curiosity may be satisfied, by learning that the whole different species were excluded equally in confined as in open air. Boerhaave, adopting the received maxim concerning the sterility of eggs in confined air, thus expresses himself in his *Prælectiones Academicæ* (1).  
 \* Ova bombycis in aere calido excluduntur, si liberè admittatur. Eadem in phiala clausa nunquam producant suum animal.' Now, the truth is, these hatch very well in close vessels, as I have been convinced by every experiment I made. From all that has been said, we must conclude, that the air of close vessels is not an impediment to the production of plants or animals; but plants, without any exception known to me, germinate there, and animals grow and propagate their species. Those which undergo metamorphoses experience the changes in close equally as in open vessels.

Why do we generally believe that stagnant air obstructs the production of animals and vegetables? Analogy is surely the cause of this remarkable error. It was observed; that animals and vegetables subjected to experiment soon  
 perished

(1) Tom. 2.

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perished in close vessels; that seeds and eggs confined were sterile; and a general conclusion was made, that stagnant air was decidedly noxious to both kinds of living beings.

In the beginning of this chapter, it is said, the vessels employed were very large; that each might contain fourteen or fifteen pounds of water; with them the results enumerated were obtained. But the consequences are very different on using vessels successively smaller: In proportion as their capacity decreases, the eggs or seeds do not germinate, or they perish when scarcely evolved, and animals of every species in a short time die. All the naturalists, who have had results different from mine, certainly have used vessels too small, otherwise the same would have happened as to myself. However, I do not deny that their error, respecting animals, might arise from the nature of the animals on which their experiments were made, that they must perish whatever the capacity of the vessels may be, as, for instance, warm blooded animals. But to understand this better, and enforce conviction, let us descend to particulars.

Animalcula of infusions originate, exist, and propagate in the large vessels; which also succeeds in vessels one third of the size, only we then begin to perceive the disadvantages of stagnant air. When the capacity is such as to contain  
three

three pounds and a half of water, the number is less; they multiply less, and die sooner. On diminishing the vessels, the larger animalcula are not seen, and neither large nor small, if the internal capacity does not exceed seven or eight inches.

The nymphs of gnats seem to support this situation better than infusion animalcula. In five inches of air, many changed to the winged state. As the quantity lessens, they perish proportionally sooner, and without changing.

The eels of white vinegar are particularly remarkable. They live and multiply prodigiously, where the volume of air does not exceed three inches; and die in several days only, when confined in a tube where the vacuum is less than an inch. I speak of white vinegar, for the effects are very different with red. In my experiments, the eels of the latter did not live five days in a vessel where the vacuum was eleven inches. This did not happen so much because the vinegar underwent an alteration, as that the eels of red vinegar rather are of a different nature from those of white; which I believe to be more probable, from the difference of figure I remarked in each species.

Tadpoles perished in some days in nine inches of air; and in a few hours, if the vacuum was but three inches.

Caterpillars,

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Caterpillars, and the larvæ of flesh-flies, confined in eleven inches of air, died before becoming chrysalids. The larvæ in particular, soon after confinement, deserted the putrid flesh put in along with them for food, and tumultuously traversed the vessel, disregarding the flesh. They became motionless, and died after various periods, longer or shorter: if the vessel was larger, they lived longer; if smaller, they died sooner. These larvæ, when changed to nymphs, suffered less from the small quantity of air. In a vessel where the larvæ had died, I confined the same number of their nymphs. The flies of some came out; but it must be remarked, that the body and wings were distorted: they seemed to have been produced, as one may say, against the will of nature. This never happened to the chrysalids of butterflies, though the vacuum was very small.

What has been hitherto said will apply to seeds and eggs. I omit telling the reader my trouble in finding the successive capacities of the vessels, where eggs and seeds ceased to germinate; but adopting the general result, when the capacity of the vessels was but three or four inches, neither eggs nor seeds have developed.

Thus it is necessary to conclude, that the production of vegetables, and of some animals, takes place nearly as well in confined as in open air, provided the quantity in the vessels is considerable;

able ; on the contrary, when it is not, that it becomes fatal to both. The precise quantity which may be noxious can only be determined by the nature, constitution, and quality of the animals and vegetables confined.

By experiments in different seasons, I discovered that the death of animals is not only accelerated by diminishing the size of the vessels, as I have shewn, but also by the increase of heat. This is particularly seen in animals which are easily procured at any time of the year, and live long without food ; such as, newts, leeches, land and water serpents, vipers, and some species of fishes. I was as careful as possible to take the individuals, for my experiments, of an equal size and equally vigorous, so that the comparisons might be the more just. While engaged with very different matters, I discovered this new fact in the following manner. On the fifth of April, along with other things, I prepared three jars ; the first might contain six pounds of water ; the second, four ; and the third, two. Four newts were confined in each. My experiments were directed to investigate whether the animals died sooner as the volume of air diminished ; and I found it to be the case. The four newts in the smallest vessel perished in forty-one hours ; in the intermediate vessel, in two days ; and in the largest, in seven days.

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On the same day, a similar experiment was made with leeches. I confined four in each vessel. They lived long in comparison to the newts. In the smallest vessel, they died in three days ; in the next, in nine ; and in the largest, in thirty-two days.

The experiment was repeated, 12 May, on both kinds of animals. They died much sooner. The newts, in the smallest vessel, perished in twenty-seven hours ; in the next, in three days ; and in the largest, in four days. The leeches, in the smallest vessel, died in two days ; in the next, in five ; and in the largest, in nine. The more immediate death of the newts and leeches in May, I suspected was occasioned by the increased heat of the season ; for, during the month of April, in the greatest heat, the thermometer rose to  $57^{\circ}$ , while, in May, it stood at  $70^{\circ}$ . My suspicions were realized by the death of the animals being accelerated in June and July. The thermometer standing at  $81^{\circ}$ , during the latter, four newts in the largest vessel died in twenty-three hours, and the leeches in thirty-five.

What has been said of leeches and newts will apply to snakes, vipers, and fishes ; because the result of experiments made on them corresponded with the former. The death of the whole was not only accelerated in proportion to the small quantity of air they were forced to respire,

but also in proportion to the increase of heat. Twice I observed the reverse, which we must consider as arising from some accidental circumstance.

I delayed until winter to make the experiment inversely; that is, to learn whether the death of animals was retarded in proportion to the increase of cold. The experiment succeeded with vipers and newts, which were the animals I then had at command. The newts lived twenty-two days in the smallest vessel; in the middle-sized, thirty-four; and in the largest, two months. Vipers survived still longer. The vessels were in a situation where the thermometer stood at  $48^{\circ}$ .

Life was protracted in a greater degree of cold. When the vessels were kept under snow, or, which is the same, at freezing, the animals did not perish in three months. On taking them from the snow, and exposing them some days to the atmosphere, during spring, both kinds died.

Such are the principal results which I have been able to collect from the experiments related in this chapter; results most useful in themselves, because they elucidate the subject: but they leave us to suppose the cause, or rather induce us to seek for it; which the reader will endeavour to discover, if he is a philosopher. Why is the death of animals accelerated in small vessels, and retarded in large? Why is it accelerated more  
by

by heat than cold? Whence arises the difference of time in the death of animals? Why may one quantity of air be noxious to one species of animals and indifferent to another? The solution of these problems depends on our knowledge of the cause of death in stagnant air. This ancient and most famous question has always divided celebrated modern philosophers. It is important to enter on the discussion of it; and I shall examine what has been already written on the subject, and adopt that opinion which to me seems most consistent with facts, that is, with truth. Since the eggs of animals, and seeds of plants, in a small quantity of air, remain sterile, I shall not fail to add a short sentence or two on the cause of their sterility.

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## CHAP. II.

### TWO PRINCIPAL OPINIONS ON THE CAUSE OF ANIMALS DYING IN STAGNANT AIR.—WHETHER IT LIES IN THE DIMINISHED ELASTICITY OF THE AIR.

Two phenomena have been remarked by those who have killed animals in close vessels; *first*, That a quantity of vapour, exhaled from the animal,



mal, accumulates on the sides of the vessels; *secondly*, That the air has lost a certain degree of its elasticity. These phenomena have produced different opinions. One ascribes the death of animals to these exhalations, which, being confined in the vessels, are respired by the animals, and thus become fatal. Another opinion maintains, that the exhalations cannot be mortal; but the elasticity of the air being diminished by them, or a portion of the air being destroyed by respiration, becomes fatal.

The experiment of Pistorini of Bologna, instituted to appreciate the force of both opinions, is specious. Supposing they are equally just, he argues, it should necessarily ensue that two animals, confined in the same vessel, die sooner than one alone, provided the vessel is the same, and the animals of the same size and species. We must, therefore, recur to the exhalations from the animal, or to diminished elasticity of the air occasioned by the effluvia or the respiration; and as it is always certain, that doubling the number of animals, the exhalations and respirations are doubled, the diminution of elasticity should consequently be doubled. But Pistorini found it otherwise. Two animals died as soon as one, though he used the same vessel, and animals of the same size and species (1).

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(1) Act. Bon. tom. 2, part 1.

It was to be supposed, that the singular consequences of the experiment induced others to repeat it; among whom was the celebrated Professor Veratti. His experiments were made on birds and frogs. A pigeon lived three hours and three quarters: two pigeons, confined together, lived only half the time. Three swallows died in little more than half an hour; two swallows in less than an hour; and one lived almost two hours. He observed nearly the same with sparrows and quails; three died sooner than two, and two sooner than one. But with frogs it was altogether different: in eight days, four died as soon as two, and one alone lived no longer than three, though the vessel was always the same. So that the experiments on birds were very different from those of Pistorini; and the experiments on frogs agreed with his. And here is seen the different nature of animals in this mode of death. Thus far Sig. Veratti (1).

Sig. Cigna, a professor equally celebrated, has also engaged in an examination of these discrepancies, which he thinks to have removed by the accuracy of his experiments. The result is this: Where the frogs confined are deprived of water, as it would appear those of Veratti were, there it is true that the plurality never or seldom accelerates death. When confined along with water,

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which

(1) T. cit.

which is their natural aliment, it is almost certain that the acceleration of death is in proportion to their numbers (1).

The experiments related in the preceding chapter induced me likewise to engage in this inquiry. If it was true that several animals of a given species confined in the same vessel died as soon as where there was only one, and if the phenomena was not accidental but constant, it must be regulated, as I said before, in a manner proportioned to the smaller quantity of air confined along with the animals. But we may easily see, when the vessels are equal, that the smallest quantity must always be where there are most animals. As frogs had disturbed the order established by this law, according to Veratti, and as I could not repeat the experiments of Pistorini, because he has not specified the animals he employed, my experiments were on frogs also; some in vessels with water, and some in vessels without it, thus to approach the method followed by these authors. In three vessels, which would each contain five pounds of water, I hermetically sealed up frogs, that is, two in one, four in another, and eight in a third. In this last, the eight frogs perished in twenty-six hours; in the second, the four frogs died in one day; and in the other, the two perished in two days.

A similar experiment was at the same time made with three vessels more, as large as the first,

(1) Miscell. Taur. Tom. 2.

first, and the frogs distributed in the same manner: so that there was no difference between this and the preceding experiment, except that there was no water in the vessels; and here there were four ounces in each. In two days, none of the frogs were alive in the vessel with eight; in that with four, they lived three days and a half, and five days where two were. During these experiments, the thermometer stood between  $63^{\circ}$  and  $70^{\circ}$ .

Both experiments were repeated, the circumstances in every respect the same, except that the heat of the weather was greater; and then the thermometer ascended to  $77^{\circ}$ . The frogs in the first vessel died in twenty hours; in the second, in nineteen; and the two frogs in the third, in about two days. As to the second experiment with vessels containing about four ounces of water; the eight frogs died in thirty-two hours, the four in two days, and the two in the third vessel, in three days and a half.

The experiments were repeated several times; but, to avoid the tedium of dry details, I shall not circumstantially describe them, and will only speak of the results obtained from vessels without water. Sometimes I observed the irregularities which have already been remarked. It sometimes happened, that more frogs perished in the same time, and sometimes later than a smaller

number. But when the frogs were in water, they constantly perished sooner as their number was greater: eight died first, then four, and lastly two. It happened only once that all the eight were alive, when one in the vessel with four was dead.

From all these facts, added to those related by Sig. Cigna, I was satisfied that frogs corroborate the general rule, that all animals, without exception, perish in confined air sooner according as their number is increased. However, we see discrepancies with frogs included in vessels without water: but I know not whether they should really be considered such, because privation of water is injurious to these animals, which Sig. Cigna remarks. Frogs die in a short time in open vessels wanting water: therefore it is absolutely necessary to proscribe this as a cause disturbing our experiments.

After finding the reason why differences appeared with frogs, perhaps it would not be difficult to find it in Pistorini's animals, had he mentioned what they were, and the manner of conducting his experiments. With respect to Sig. Veratti, we know that he generally used birds. But he has found, that they, as I have myself done, and shall soon observe, agree well with the rule laid down. Thus there is room to suspect, that Pistorini's experiment has met with some accident,

cident, without knowing in what that accident consisted, which rendered his results different from those of others. It might be occasioned by the birds themselves ; perhaps that which he confined alone was less vigorous than those he confined together ; whence all died in the same time. Perhaps in his experiment with the two birds, all communication with the external air had not been prevented, which might easily happen if the top of the vessel was covered only with leather, or any substance of a similar nature ; or if, on inverting the mouth of the vessel, it had not been well fixed to the plane of position with mastic, glue, or the like. It is very possible that some invisible hole might remain, or some opening, by which the air might get admission. To obviate all suspicion of foreign air, it is necessary to seal the vessel hermetically, or immerse the mouth deep in water, as will be more clearly explained. In the preceding chapter, we have seen how much the heat of the weather accelerates the death of the animals confined. May we not suspect that Pistorini made the experiment on a single bird in very warm weather, and on two in very cold : and that the death of the two birds was by this means retarded by the cold of the atmosphere, which would protract life as long as the single bird survived ?

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Let us leave this irregularity : but before resuming my principal object, it will be proper to glance at a doubt that occurred on seeing animals die sooner in a close than an open situation, when the number was increased ; and this was, whether more immediate death arose from diminution of the volume of air only, or if the number would occasion it in another manner, and thus become a new cause. To ascertain which was the case, I selected three equal vessels, and a certain number of the largest frogs, as nearly of the same size as possible. Two I confined in one vessel, along with a pound of water, and one put alone into each of the other two vessels, adding a quantity of water equal to the bulk of a frog : for discovering which, I immersed it in a vessel, and observed the quantity overflowing. The quantities of air in the three vessels were equalized by this method, though in one were three frogs, and in each of the others only one. If the greater number of animals accelerated death absolutely from diminishing the volume of air, as the quantity was equal in all the three vessels, the four frogs should die in the same time nearly. If numbers influenced the acceleration of death, the two in one vessel should die first. I have said nearly, for it would be very remarkable if the animals died exactly in the same time. The two frogs in the first vessel lived

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ed two days ; that in the second died in three days and seventeen hours ; and that in the third, died in three days and a half. This demonstrates the influence of number in accelerating death, and other experiments confirm it beyond contradiction. I have repeated the same experiment five times, and obtained the same results. The two frogs in the first vessel always died sooner than those in the second and third, and the difference of time was very perceptible ; it has uniformly been a day, sometimes a day and a half, and sometimes longer.

Instead of two frogs, I put three in the first vessel, and only one in the rest ; but equalizing the volume of air, by adding a quantity of water equal to two frogs in bulk. The three frogs not only died sooner than those in the other two vessels, but the difference was still more conspicuous than before : it was two days and one hour with the frogs in the second ; and two days and seven hours with the frogs in the third vessel. By increasing the number of frogs in the first vessel, their death was constantly accelerated with respect to those in the second and third, though precautions were taken to equalize the volume of air by addition of water equal to the bulk of the frogs in the first vessel.

I extended my experiments, and changed the subjects to several small quadrupeds and birds.

But



But notwithstanding the equal quantity of air in the vessels, I constantly found that they died sooner as they were more numerous; and that the acceleration of death was always in proportion to the encrease of number. Thus, it is evident, that the death of animals, in close vessels, invariably happen sooner as the animals are more numerous.

By what physical agent, by what means are they destroyed? Is it by their breath, or perhaps by injuring the quality of the air which they respire? Let us carefully examine these two hypotheses, beginning with that which is founded on an alteration of the state of the air. That it does lose part of its elasticity is evident from barometers put in the vessels where animals are confined. Stair observed that his fell an inch in one where a rat died. The descent varies. In Veratti's experiments, it sometimes fell eight lines, sometimes nine, twelve, or more, according to the nature of the animals. The experiments of Mayow, Boyle, Hales, and others, agree in establishing that a portion of the air is destroyed by animals confined in a close vessel. We cannot conclude from them, that the death of animals in close vessels is owing to the diminished elasticity of the air; at least there are no experiments positively proving the fact. It is first necessary to enquire, whether an alteration of the air always takes

takes place, when animals die in close vessels. Secondly, whether the degree of alteration is sufficient to kill the animals; for we know that every degree of diminished elasticity is not fatal to them.

Here Sig. Cigna has laboured in a manner that merits commendation. I shall afterwards employ some of his ideas. I have made a course of experiments, with the same view, which shall be abbreviated after relating the method adopted. Several air-pump glass receivers were inverted in a vessel of water. They opened and shut above by means of a metal stop-cock. The receiver being left open when immersed, a free passage was left for the internal air to escape above, in proportion as it was compressed by the rising water; thus the remanent portion preserved the natural degree of density as the external air; which was absolutely necessary for the accuracy of the experiment. This done, I closed the vessel, and, to make it more secure, passed several folds of leather round the stop-cock, to cut off all communication with the external air. I was certain that it could not insinuate itself, for the same receivers were used as in my pneumatic experiments. The animals being put in the receivers, the diminished elasticity could be seen by the ascent of the water within. If the animals were aquatic, or amphibious, I let them remain  
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in water. If terrestrial, they were put in a vessel which was suspended by a hook at the top of the receiver.

My first experiments were on frogs. Seven were confined in one receiver, and air left, equal in bulk to a pound of water. In half an hour, the water began to rise above the level of that without, evidently proving that the elasticity of the internal air was affected. The ascent continued until all the frogs were dead or dying. The water had risen eleven lines. I repeated the experiment with four frogs confined in the receiver. When the whole were dead, the water had ascended ten lines. The elevation was one line higher in an experiment with two frogs. It was nine lines with only one frog.

I made similar experiments on newts, reserving the same quantity of air in the receiver as for frogs. The death of eight newts raised the water scarcely an inch ; of four newts, nine lines ; of two, six lines ; and of one, five lines. The elevation of the water, therefore, diminished with diminishing the number of newts.

By the death of eleven leeches, the water rose five lines and a half, and by the death of three only one line.

Several naturalists have remarked how much small animals injure the elasticity of the air. I had also observed this in birds : Veratti's researches

searches were chiefly directed to them : but nobody that I know of has made experiments on an animal partaking both of the nature of a bird and a quadruped, although it is not properly either the one or the other ; I mean the bat ; an animal so disgusting and forbidding in appearance, but at the same time as perfect as other animals, and the connection of quadrupeds with birds. Their ambiguous nature made me desirous of forcing them to respire the same air in close vessels : but it first occurred to try how long they could support a vacuum. How much sooner did they die than the cold blooded animals ? Five bats, successively subjected to the experiment, did not live three minutes. They were of that species called, by M. D'Aubenton, the horse-shoe bat, from the circular line on the nose.

Though they died suddenly in vacuo, there was a limited proportion in confined air. Four, closed up in a vessel, lived scarcely an hour ; two, an hour and a half ; one, lived almost three hours. The water of the vessel, in the first case, ascended an inch and seven lines ; in the second with two, an inch and three lines ; and in that with one, eleven lines.

My experiments were extended to several reptiles ; namely, vipers and some land snakes. Both these species having died in close vessels ; the water rose to a certain degree as the number was greater.

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The greatest elevation occasioned by the death of three vipers, was an inch and three lines ; and the least elevation, by the death of one viper, six lines. The death of one snake raised the water four lines ; and of five snakes, an inch and seven lines.

The same is the case with small lizards and fishes. The elevation of the water is in proportion to their numbers.

I have repeated all these experiments in every season, and have uniformly seen the water within the receiver rise ; with this single difference, that the elevation is more accelerated in warm than in cold weather, as well as the death of the animals subjected to experiment. I have also constantly observed, that elevation is so much the less as the animals are smaller. Vipers, snakes, and bats, raised it more than frogs, newts, and lizards ; and lizards raised it more than leeches. This even takes place according to the difference of size in the same species. The death of a barbel, weighing a pound, raised the water above an inch : that of one weighing only two ounces, did not raise it two lines. It seemed to me, that, in consequence of this proportion, the death of the smallest animals should raise it very little, or hardly at all : which would happen if their death was not occasioned by the diminished elasticity

elasticity of the air; because the water in the receivers, remaining at its original level, seemed to indicate that the elasticity underwent no alteration. To discuss this fact was most important.

I began with the larvæ of large flesh flies. Thirty, extremely minute from being lately hatched, were put into a very small receiver. I left them on the flesh where they had been deposited by the mother. They lived only seven hours in the receiver, and the water rose half a line. The same experiment was repeated on fifteen more: I could scarcely perceive the water elevated above the level; and it undoubtedly was not when eight larvæ were taken, though the whole died.

The larvæ of common flies exhibited nearly the same phenomenon. The water rose one third of a line, when the number was great; when small, the rise was not sensible.

The death of seven earth worms did not raise the water. The larvæ of nymphs and gnats had only an inch of air: they died in a day; and though some hundreds in number, the water stood at its original level in the receiver, after they died. The death of five rat-tailed worms did not sensibly alter the level; but the death of a greater number occasioned a perceptible elevation.

Some stagnant waters are full of a kind of minute animals, called water lice, or fleas, by natu-

ralists. They are in constant motion, darting through the water in various directions (1). Several thousands lived two days and some hours in a receiver, and died without any sensible elevation of the water. Neither could I perceive any elevation of water full of animalcula, which died in two weeks.

My experiments on many insects which undergo no metamorphoses, as spiders, shell and naked snails, millipedes, and on others that change their form, as caterpillars, chrysalids, and nymphs, demonstrated, that the death of a great number raises the water a little, but not at all when they are few.

The facts we have obtained are now enough to decide on the object of our enquiry ; especially if compared with those of Sig. Cigna and Verratti (2). Two principal results arise : First, that

(1) The author evidently means various species of *monoculi*—T.

(2) In the fourth volume of the *Atta Bononia* is a memoir concerning the effect of confined air, (in which a candle has burnt,) on animals, and some other experiments on confined air. This memoir has probably been overlooked, though the *Atta* are frequently quoted. The author does not ascribe the death of animals ' to the diminished elasticity of the air, but to some change which it undergoes from its natural state, by frequent inspiration ' and

that there are many animals whose death in close vessels does not lessen the elasticity of the air. Secondly, when it is diminished, it is very little. The first result is unfavourable to those who ascribe the death of animals to the diminished elasticity of the air. It cannot be attributed to this: for, if animals die, in many cases, without the air sensibly losing its elasticity, we must conclude that their death has another cause. And I doubt very much whether in any case diminished elasticity has occasioned death, because it was so little. By Veratti's experiments, it appears that the barometer did not fall much more than an inch at the greatest alteration. According to mine, the water in the receiver sometimes rose a few lines, sometimes near an inch, and at most an inch and seven lines; that is, one fourteenth of an inch, and seven fourteenths of a line of mercury. But we know that in changes of weather, there is a greater difference in the weight of the air. The mercury in the barometer sometimes falls more than an inch, and falls very fast, especially in storms, without affecting animals;

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‘and expiration, so that the pabulum is consumed by the animal, or the air is decomposed, and becomes unfit to support life.’ Thus, this author is very near the true theory of respired air. *Thomæ Lag'ii de Animalium in aere interclusorum interitu.*—T.



otherwise, neither cold nor warm blooded animals would live in safety on mountains where the mercury falls lower than in barometers placed in close vessels (1). Animals can not only live in air which has lost its elasticity to such a degree that the barometer falls some inches, as on the tops of lofty mountains, but in air, if it is renewed, where the barometer falls to less than half its natural height. Such is the ingenious experiment of Sig. Cigna. This acute experimentalist confined two sparrows in the receiver of an air-pump : one was left at liberty : the other put into a glass bottle, around the neck of which a very large empty bladder was tied. Then he began to exhaust the air until the mercury, which stood at twenty-seven inches and a half in the barometer, fell to nineteen. As much air was then returned to the receiver as depressed the mercury two inches within. In a short time afterwards, he drew the same quantity from the receiver,

(1) However, it is certain that animals removed from plains to mountains suffer considerably, though they may naturally live in safety on the summits of the highest. M. de Saussure ascended to the top of Mont Blanc ; the barometer fell to  $16\frac{1}{4}$  inches. His respiration was so much affected and he was enfeebled to such a degree, that with great difficulty he could buckle his shoe. *Senebier, Memoire sur la vie et les ecrits de Horace Benedict de Saussure.*—T.

receiver, which he soon returned, and continued this alternate exhaustion and return half an hour. The sparrows were always kept in air rarified so much as to balance only eight inches and a half of mercury, or at most ten and a half. But the sparrow at liberty enjoyed the benefit of respiring renewed air; while that confined always respired the same. It expired soon after removal from the vessel, whereas the other came from the receiver in perfect health (1).

Boyle tells us that animals perish in condensed air rendered much more elastic than the atmospheric. I have often repeated the experiment, condensing the air sometimes twice, thrice, or even more, than its natural state; and with him have observed that the air, thus rendered most elastic, kills animals slower, but they perish irrecoverably.

Thus it is experimentally demonstrated, that the diminished elasticity of the air is not, and cannot be, the efficient cause of animals dying in close vessels. We have next to enquire whether their respiration contributes towards their death; which is the hypothesis now to be discussed, and will be the subject of the following chapter.

(1) Miscell. T. 2.

## CHAP. III.

WHETHER THE RESPIRATION OF ANIMALS IN STAGNANT AIR OCCASIONS THEIR DEATH.—WHY THE DEVELOPEMENT OF SEEDS AND EGGS IS, IN CERTAIN SITUATIONS, PREVENTED BY CONFINED AIR.

THREE points are to be examined in discussing the first question; Whether the death of animals in confined air is occasioned by their respiration? 1. If we actually find exhalations in close vessels where animals have died: 2. If the exhalations occasion their death: 3. Supposing they are noxious, how do they operate?

With regard to the first article, Sig. Cigna, the learned illustrator of this theory, has proved the reality of the exhalations of respiration, by the foetid odour we are sensible of on opening the vessels where animals have died, and a sort of vaporous pellicle covering the internal surface. In my experiments, I have almost uniformly observed this pellicle over the internal surface of the vessels where warm blooded animals, as birds, rats, or bats, have died, but never have remarked it with cold blooded animals. Something

thing indeed was perceptible on opening the vessels; and the odour was certainly foetid or cadaverous. I have been sensible of it in all my experiments, which are very numerous, even in those made on the smallest animals: so that the existence of this vapour is not to be doubted, though it is not always visible; either from the smallness of the quantity, or because it is of a dry nature which may prevent it from appearing under the form of an aqueous veil.

It is incontestible that these exhalations are the real cause of the death of animals. Sig. Cigna endeavours to prove it by recurring to the resemblance we remark between the phenomena exhibited by fluids evaporating in confined air and those seen in animals respiring in close vessels. The evaporation he has observed continues longer in proportion to the size of the vessels, and fills them sooner as the air is more rarified. Animals are also subject to these two conditions; they live longer as the quantity of confined air is greater, and perish sooner as the air becomes rarer (1).

Collecting some of the results hitherto given, and connecting them with those that I shall afterwards establish, it seems easy to prove this fact. We have seen that two circumstances accelerate

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(1) Lib. cit.

the death of animals: the increased heat of the atmosphere, and the number of animals confined! The exhalations are in these cases more copious: reason persuades us of it; and it is confirmed by the more foetid odour on opening the vessels. As we cannot ascribe the death of animals to the diminished elasticity of the air, and as no other causes appear, why may we not recur to the exhalations now become more dense and active? Besides, as we shall see, animals die sooner in close vessels where there are some already dead, because the exhalations are more abundant. By this means, we comprehend how animals confined alone, or in small numbers, survive much longer than where there are many, and why they live longer in cold weather, for in either case the quantity of the vapour is less. For the same reason, their lives will be abridged in proportion to the smallness of the vessels; as the vapours become denser from the little space they have to spread.

With all these facts, we cannot affirm that diminished elasticity of the air occasions death, and not the exhalations of respiration; or some material change which the air undergoes; particularly as, by continued inspiration and expiration, it will cease to be the same for want of free circulation, and will lose the *pabulum*, which is a substance or quality known only by name, but

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on which every one makes the life of animals depend, either by being decomposed or corrupted, so as to become unfit for respiration. But the slender support of these reasons is demonstrated by animals themselves, for they die in situations where the communication of the internal and external air is uninterrupted. When seven frogs had died in a receiver, I opened the stop-cock, and gave admission to the external air to balance that within; in an hour, other two frogs were confined, the stop-cock remaining open, but they died in less than an hour and a half. Further, the frogs in the receiver perished sooner, as the number of dead frogs was greater, although the diameter of the opening above was at least two lines. Several birds, reptiles, and small quadrupeds had the same fate when forced to remain among dead animals, though the receiver was open above. As the communication of the internal with the external air was uninterrupted, the imagined alteration or corruption of the air cannot exist, and death is certainly occasioned by the exhalations of respiration, since we have seen that it happens when the top of the receiver is open, as part of them can then escape.

It may be remarked, in passing, that the death of animals in an open receiver decisively proves that the diminished elasticity of the air does not  
kill

kill them. I made a new experiment to ascertain positively whether they were destructive. The opening of the receiver was enlarged, and the exhalations were transmitted into a vessel applied to it. In the vessel were confined two swallows, and it was completely secured by a wooden stopper, well fitted. I preferred swallows as eight had previously died in the receiver. The influence of the exhalations was such, that both died in a quarter of an hour, though two confined in a similar vessel lived fully two hours.

The experiment was diversified, by collecting various quantities of vapour in the vessel. Animals have always lived in proportion to the quantity. Long after the vapours are confined, they retain their destructive property. Whatever animals have afforded them makes little difference in their influence: they are equally fatal to all others. Exhalations from birds kill quadrupeds, and those from quadrupeds are destructive of birds.

To terminate the investigation, I made the following experiment. Many animals having expired in a receiver during very warm weather, I opened the hole at the upper part, and presented a bird to the very foetid vapour which escaped, so that it was forced to inspire the mephitic air; this and every one treated in the same manner perished.

Although

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Although I conceive it impossible that any animal can live in confined air, if the vessels are very small, it is certain that some survive much longer than others. Cold blooded animals generally exist longer than warm. In the same air where a newt or a frog will live a day, a sparrow, a bat, or a rat, frequently do not live an hour. There is even a sort of gradation among cold blooded animals. A newt lives longer than a frog, and a frog shorter than a leech. This also succeeds with insects. In the opinion of some, it is not difficult to ascribe a reason for the diversity of these phenomena. Cold blooded animals are not only more tenacious of life, but they have incomparably less necessity to respire than the warm blooded have. How much longer will a frog, a viper, or a toad, survive in vacuo than a bird? Not being under the same necessity to respire as the others, they will absorb less of the exhalations in equal time. Why then is it wonderful if they live longer? Doubtless some analogous reason occasions the difference of time that cold and warm blooded animals can live in close vessels. Experiment proves that frogs in vacuo die sooner than newts; and I have found the same on keeping both immersed in water. We may reason in a similar manner on insects, not to speak of their different constitution, which may produce discrepancies.

It



It remains to inquire how the exhalations of respiration are noxious to animals: and here in particular has Sig. Cigna displayed his abilities. According to him, they induce death by irritation of the bronchiæ and lungs, forcing them to contract and corrugate, and thus prevent the admission of new air. Thus, in his opinion, animals in air infected by their breath die by suffocation. He endeavours to prove that this is actually the cause of death, from the various symptoms observed in the respiration of confined animals. Respiration becomes more frequent and fainter when the exhalations begin to collect, because an equal quantity of air inspired containing more, it obliges the animal immediately to discharge it. As they continue to increase, respiration also continues frequent, but becomes more laboured; and soon exhausts the animal if confined in air where other animals have died. All this proves, in Cigna's opinion, that the exhalations injure the animal, by contracting the organs of respiration by their irritating influence, and thus obstruct admission of the air.

In my numerous experiments, I have seen the same symptoms of injured respiration. They are manifest in warm blooded animals, and especially in birds. In cold blooded animals, they do not so evidently appear, but are very perceptible on changing animals from open to confined  
air

air previously vitiated by exhalation. Sig. Cigna had experienced this. He confined a frog in a receiver where five or six were already dead : the frog instantly became agitated, and leaped violently against the sides of the receiver ; it was immediately affected by a frequent and laboured respiration, which gradually became more painful ; and soon ended in death. Therefore I fully coincide with the Turin professor, that respiration is injured ; but I cannot admit that such a contraction of the organs ensues as to kill the animals by suffocation. Several frogs will live a long time in a capacious vessel. Their vivacity remains more than a day if the weather is not warm : after this they become sluggish, and swell excessively. If males, the two vesicles on the sides of the head increase, and their inflation is so great as to prevent the frogs from sinking, and keeps them always on the surface of the water. Having remained some time in this state, the frogs expire. On opening them, we discover that the swelling proceeds from inflation of the lungs, which cannot possibly be more distended. The same inflation is found in those of toads and frogs dying in this manner ; and they, too, are necessitated to swim. But the lungs are so far from being rigid and contracted, that they are much dilated and considerably charged with air. For this reason, then, and for others of which I shall

shall afterwards speak, I cannot admit that animals die from obstructed respiration. Several vipers and frogs were confined in very small vessels where many animals were already dead, and an equal number put at the same time in vacuo. It is incredible how much sooner the former died; some did not survive a minute; but those in vacuo were alive at the end of several hours. It was not suffocation, therefore, or any obstacle to the air entering into the lungs, that occasioned death, otherwise the animals would have lived much longer, at least as long as those in vacuo.

Frogs were also forced to remain under water, and prevented from rising to respire at the surface. I have tied the origin of the lungs in such a manner that the air could not enter. Some I have deprived of the lungs, and confined along with other frogs in a small quantity of air very foetid from the exhalations of respiration. The last expired in a few minutes, sometimes in one, even in less; while those prevented from respiring by immersion in water, having the lungs tied or cut out, have lived, as those in vacuo, for several hours. I have found the same with toads and water serpents. Since the death of all these species, by privation of respiration, has been without comparison later than the death of the same animals killed by the exhalations of respiration, we must conclude that these

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these exhalations do not kill by suspending respiration, but that they are one of the poisons most fit to destroy life, acting as immediately as any other poison, and even almost instantaneously destructive when collected in a great quantity. This poison penetrating the body by means of respiration, when animals inspire the air, will cause that laboured breathing they suffer; for more than probable, it makes a violent and painful impression on the organs of respiration. At the same time, these are not the only vehicles for the poisonous vapours. Earth worms, leeches, and some other insects, which are not only without real lungs but also without stigmata or tracheæ, die in like manner with the rest in confined air (1). It is necessary to admit, that the exhalations act upon them, either by insinuating themselves through the pores of the skin, by the alimentary canal, or perhaps by both. The deleterious

(1) Vauqueline has made several experiments on the duration of certain animals' lives in confined air. A female locust lived thirty-six hours in eight inches of common air; and a snail lived forty-eight hours in twelve inches. He concludes, from various experiments, that insects and worms respire nearly in the same manner as warm blooded animals, and are capable of respiring vital air only. He found that worms died when all the vital air was consumed, *Experiences sur la respiration des Insectes et des Vers. Annales de Chimie, Tom. 12—T.*

leterious quality of the exhalations is so terrible to all species of animals, that its effects are extended to those that never felt the lively impressions of the air, from their constant abode at the bottom of waters. The snails and little snakes of stagnant waters shewed me this. They crawled over the bottom of an open vessel of water, without betraying any sign of uneasiness : but, when confined in a very small vessel, they became restless, ascended the sides of the vessel, and, contrary to their usual habits, left the water, and soon expired. Thus the influence of the exhalations acts under waters, which is indubitable from the fœtor communicated to those in receivers, as well as to what surrounds them whenever it is copious.

But how do these pestilential exhalations occasion the death of animals, if they do not kill by depriving them of respiration ? It is not by coagulating, dissolving, or decomposing the fluids. The blood preserves its original fluidity immediately after the death of animals in this way, and flows in the serum ; and its globules retain their size and figure. Besides, if the exhalations coagulated the blood, or contributed to render it more fluid, they could not occasion sudden death ; for animals deprived of blood die where they abound (1).

I have

(1) De Fenomeni della Circolazione.

I have suspected that this poison may be fatal by destroying the irritability of the muscles, which is possible in two ways. The muscular fibre may either become too relaxed or too rigid. No symptom of the muscles being flaccid appeared, when the animals were taken from the confined air, but rather signs of rigidity. Such phenomena I observed in frogs: their hind legs and thighs were extended straight out, as if they had been dried. On changing their position, or bending them, resistance was felt; and their natural position was resumed when at liberty. The muscular substance seemed harder to the touch and under the knife. However I soon discovered that these changes in the fibre did not precede death, but followed it. If I took frogs dying, or just dead, from the vessel, their limbs were not stretched, and the muscles preserved sufficient pliability. On the contrary, extension and rigidity only took place when they remained some time in the vessel. I have seen the same muscular hardness and extension in the limbs of dead frogs continuing immersed in water. Alteration in the muscular system by no means happens to all animals.

The following facts made me entirely renounce the idea of lost irritability. The femoral muscles of a frog display great irritability when cut or pricked; they tremble and suddenly contract,

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not only where the point of the needle or edge of the instrument touches, but far beyond it ; and the vibration continues some time, though the stimulus which occasioned it is removed. Having taken a frog on the point of death from a close vessel,—I will not say the muscles retained their irritability as in a state of health, or that the approach of death did not weaken it,—but I will affirm, that the vibration and contraction of the thighs, when cut and pricked, re-appeared, and even continued after the animal was entirely dead.

I abandoned the idea of lost muscular irritability : and, after deep reflection, it has appeared to me that the nervous system is the part on which the exhalations act. And here are the reasons which have suggested that opinion ; they are submitted to the judgment of the philosophic reader. Convulsions commonly precede and attend the death of our animals : they are clearly manifest in frogs. Sometimes the whole body is convulsed, but particularly, and more violently, the limbs ; and in these convulsions they die. As they resist death longer in winter, the convulsions also continue longer. If taken from the vessel before death, it appears that the seat of sensation has suffered. They are sluggish and motionless ; nor do they change their place when stimulated, though agitation is evident ; the convulsions re-appear ;

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appear; their lethargy augments, even when put in the open air; and they generally die. Independent of being sufficiently clear in itself, I obtained the most satisfactory proof that these convulsions proceed from injured nerves. I wounded the muscles of a frog that had not been exposed to confined air, and these motions which stimulating ordinarily awakens were excited; but they were never convulsive motions. On the other hand, by touching the origin of the crural nerves with the instrument, which was an extremely fine needle, the limbs suddenly became convulsed, and then exactly in the same manner as in confined air. When I pricked the spinal marrow or the brain, convulsions were universal over the whole body. I have never been able to see either general or partial convulsions by wounding any part of the body but the nerves. Thus, from the convulsive spasms in animals confined in close vessels, I am induced to suspect that the pernicious vapour acts on the nervous system.

I had still one doubt to solve. I could not reconcile the almost immediate death of frogs, exposed to the powerful exhalations of respiration, with the preservation of life a long time, though deprived of the brain. In my work on circulation, it has been shewn that frogs will live several days, though the brain is taken away. But the doubt disappeared on seeing their immediate



death, when, instead of wounding the brain, the origin of the spinal marrow was wounded. If a pin was introduced where it united with the brain, the frog in a moment died convulsed. Animals, as tenacious of life as frogs, die equally suddenly, by injuring the spinal marrow. Therefore it is not very extraordinary, that death so immediate is occasioned by quantities of the pestilential exhalations insinuating themselves into animated bodies, and not affecting one part of the nerves or another, attack the whole system, and momentarily deprive it of sensation.

But what can we say of the death of those animals in which there is found no vestige of nerves, as the eels of vinegar and the host of infusion animalculæ? As these animals actually perish, the analogy of so many others dying from the same cause renders it plausible that the exhalations destroy them by contact. Consequently we must admit, that, acting on their organs, they produce an effect similar to that which they operate on the nervous substance of other animals, notwithstanding their organic structure may be without nerves, at least so far, that we cannot discover them by the microscope. Therefore they cannot evade the fatal influence of the exhalations; nor do I see how they should escape, while unable to resist the effects of the electric vapour and odorous effluvia. I beseech the reader to consider this hypothesis.

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on the nervous system only as a conjecture. I have not collected that assemblage of facts necessary to give it authenticity, nor have I had leisure to enter into all the details, and make the most profound researches. I wish that others would undertake it; and I shall always entertain the same regard for those who attain their purpose, whether they confirm or confute my conjecture; for I have no other view than the pursuit of truth.

In the first chapter, we have spoken of eggs and seeds which refused to germinate when confined in a small portion of air. It is possible that this sterility arises from the causes destructive of animals confined in close vessels. Comparison will help to convince us. Butterflies, we have seen, do not come from chrysalids confined in small vessels. M. De Reaumur, I find, has had the same results, although the object of his experiments was different from mine. He hermetically sealed glass tubes, four or five inches long, containing chrysalids, some had come from the cabbage caterpillar, and some from caterpillars that produce phalenæ: they constantly remained in their original state, though confined above five months. They never unfolded; for, as he observed, they [*did not*] perspire, and perspiration is necessary for chrysalids to become butterflies. These two facts he proved in a decisive manner. When the chrysalids are in a very confined state, as a tube of a few inches in capa-

city, the moisture transpiring cannot dissipate, on the contrary, it falls back on the chrysalids. Thus, in several days, they appear moist, and the humidity insinuating itself into their bodies renders them diseased. Therefore, the death of chrysalids ensues nearly from the same cause as that of animals in stagnant air. All this will properly apply to the eggs of insects, and the seeds of plants. We know that eggs are not hatched until a certain degree of heat which promotes perspiration. Confined in a small vessel, they re-absorb the exhalations that had before transpired from them, and these corrupt. The humidity covering the eggs, and sometimes the sides of the vessel in considerable abundance, proves it. The same happens to vegetable seeds. I have often put them in close vessels, and, that they might germinate, in a little water. On taking them out, the part that had been exposed to the air was visibly covered with a humid pellicle.

For opposite reasons, we see why eggs and seeds are developed in large close vessels; they are always in safety, for the vacuity is so great that the exhalations may disperse. For the same reason do butterflies come from chrysalids when the vessels are capacious.

OBSER.

## OBSERVATIONS AND EXPERIMENTS

ON

SOME SINGULAR ANIMALS WHICH MAY BE KILLED  
AND REVIVED.

## SECTION I.

## THE WHEEL ANIMAL.

**I**N the history of infusion animalcula, which I have treated so much at large, it has been said, when once they perished from a defect of water or humidity, they could never again be brought to life, though moisture was supplied, and their immersion continued long. Of this, I have had the most convincing and repeated evidence in the experiments now to be narrated. But there are other animalcula which, notwithstanding they inhabit infusions, are so much distinguished and privileged by nature, as to enjoy the advantage of real resurrection after death. Such, among

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others, are the *Wheel Animal*, the *Sloth*, the *Anguilla* of tiles, and those of blighted corn.

A microscopic animalcule, inhabiting the sand of tiles and sewers, is called by naturalists the wheel animal. The abdomen is large, and situated towards the middle of the body: in the opinion of some, there is an heart. The posterior part of the animal is provided with a minute trident, and the anterior divides into two trunks, bearing two most singular wheels at the summits. From these it has been named the wheel animal. One magnified is represented Plate 3. fig. 1. If the sand we speak of is put in water, and remains a certain time infused, the animalcule exhibits all its organs. If the water fails, the action of the wheels and heart ceases; the animal gradually loses motion, and becomes lifeless: it contracts, grows very minute, and assumes the resemblance of a dry emaciated skin, fig. 2. B. It is sufficient to moisten the sand for its revival: then the body soon extends, the wheels and the trident appear, the heart is re-animated, motion is regenerated in the whole animal; it begins to swim, and exercises all the functions of life. That it has remained long dry in the sand is of no importance. Leeuwenhoeck, who first had the good fortune to discover it, and from whose works I draw the chief part of what I relate, has seen wheel animals re-animated after being kept

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in dry sand almost two continued years. With this naturalist, we must observe, that the trunks and wheels are not always completely displayed when the animal revives, but are sometimes exhibited as in fig. 2. A. Such are nearly the three figures which Baker, after Leeuwenhoeck, has given in his Treatise, *The Microscope made easy*, where he contents himself with repeating what that excellent microscopist had written.

Though several naturalists have treated of the wheel animal, they seem to me to have done it but superficially, and chiefly to have proceeded on the accounts of Leeuwenhoeck. Thus I thought my trouble would not be misapplied in investigating this interesting subject, and illustrating it with additional facts; and I was particularly induced to it by the relation between it and the chief objects of those tracts. I have, therefore, composed a brief and methodical history of this wonderful insect from the materials which observation and experiment have afforded me; and it precedes the history of other animals enjoying the same privilege. When on the point of publishing the fruit of my labours, another of Baker's works written in English fell into my hands, where much is said of the wheel animal (1). I rapidly perused it; and at once perceiving that the

(1) Employment for the microscope, London 1764.

the author proposed to treat the matter *ex professo*, intended to suppress in this work all that concerns the wheel animal, because it would have been useless to treat of a subject already discussed by that learned observer. I should certainly have done so had I not observed that Baker's observations were materially different from mine, because his wheel animals were of another species. I therefore determined to publish my treatise, which was improved by it ; its imperfections lessened ; and new important matter added. This will appear from many parts of my observations and experiments which I proceed to relate, beginning with a fact which may be patent to every one. I examined the sand from a fever about three hours after it had been put into water. It was not difficult to discover the objects of my search. The first drop, a mixture of sand and turbid matter, when presented to the microscope, exhibited three living beings, which I immediately recognized as three of Leeuwenhoeck's wheel animals. On the anterior part of the body was a horn ; the body swelled towards the middle ; and the posterior part was terminated by three points ; but the anterior had neither trunks nor wheels, and the animals were nearly as in fig. 2. A. The body is transversely annulated, and longitudinally radiated with some parallel prominent rays, fig. 3. The indistinctness of the rings and lines renders them

them difficult to be found ; and one must be accustomed to observation, and have an acute eye, before he is able to see them. A small longitudinal fascia, covered with specks, is obscurely seen in the middle : and above it a circle, more visible, formed as it were by two C's touching at the extremities. The origin of a little canal is seen at the upper part of the circle, A. B. fig. 3.

The animal being very flexile, it assumes some extraordinary shapes in its progression. Sometimes extending, it becomes very slender, then it contracts into extreme corpulency. Sometimes the anterior part is contracted and concealed in the body, or the same happens to the posterior part. Some of the body will be inflated, while the rest is flaccid, or it will exhibit other motions as easy and singular to behold as they are difficult to describe with precision ; and all these remarkable figures successively follow, though the animal remains stationary.

The wheel animal uses the following method to transport itself from one place to another. It fixes the extremity of the tail to the plane which it intends to traverse : then it extends the whole anterior part of the body. While in this state, the animal detaches the tail, and, by contracting the posterior part toward the anterior, it advances. The extremity of the tail is again fixed to the plane : the body is extended as before, the  
tail



tail is detached; and, by contracting the anterior part, a new step is made. The operation is repeated, and the animalcule passes so actively along as soon to traverse the field of the microscope.

This method of progression, by means of contracting and extending the body, is common to many insects, but especially to apodal vermes, as is well known. A circumstance peculiar to the wheel animal, is fixing itself by the point of the tail, which is essential to its regular progress, that without this precaution, it would have no motion except contortion or undulation. When the animal has found some points of support, and is fixed by the tail, as to a centre, it frequently stops for some time, and stretches out the fore-part, as if examining around which way should be taken; then, suddenly detaching itself, it advances in a given direction. In Leeuwenhoeck's opinion, the wheeler fixes itself by the three points terminating the tail. At first, I likewise thought them all necessary; however, with more attention, I perceived that the middle point only was used. To see it distinctly, the drop must be thin and transparent, and free of sand; then we easily perceive, that so far from the lateral points fixing to the place of position, they do not even touch it, but are at a considerable distance, and the middle point is the only fixing one. When viewed with

a powerful magnifier, this point seems composed of a number of infinitely fine similar points, which are almost imperceptible, fig. 3. D, therefore, correctly speaking, it is these points that fix the animal.

The three wheel animals, which I then observed for the first time, were not swimming, they crawled at the bottom of the drop. It was soon evident that this was their practice when the wheels were not in action ; of which any one may be satisfied by putting a quantity of sand mixed with wheel animals into a watch-glass half full of water : he will immediately see, that those on the surface of the sand crawl over it, and do not commit themselves to the water. The same is the case with those buried in the sand, when by shaking they are brought to the surface.

The animals moved actively through the drop, searching as for food among the sand with the anterior parts, but they never went beyond the confines of the fluid ; on approaching the circumference, they instantly returned.—Motion became languid as the drop began to evaporate, and the languor increased so much as to deprive them of the power of changing their place ; though it all dried up, they continued to turn about and stretch themselves ; such motions were most conspicuous in the head and tail, which proceeded from and re-entered the body, and were entirely concealed

concealed when the drop had evaporated. The appearance of the three wheel animals then changed, not only in the loss of motion and all semblance of life, but, from a great diminution of size, they became three minute corpuscula, so distorted that it was impossible to recognise them for what they had originally been, fig. 4. A. B. C.

They were about an hour in this state of apparent death. I then put a drop of the same water on them that had evaporated. The reader may well conceive my attention in observing the resurrection, which was successful as I had anticipated. In a few minutes, the animals began to swell, and a point appeared in one part, D, fig. 4. The pointed part moved by reciprocal extension and contraction; and the opposite part, having also become pointed, began to move. These points were the animal's head and tail, proceeding from the place where they had been retracted and concealed, on evaporation of the drop. The transverse annuli, the longitudinal rays, the internal and external organs, all reappeared. The three wheel animals soon resumed their original size and figure; they traversed the sand, and shewed themselves to be alive and most vivacious.

Discovering some more wheel animals in the sand of sewers, I repeated these experiments, and found

found that they always revived, independent of the time they had remained dry. There is now before me a remarkable instance.—Some sand is in my possession on which I made experiments near four years ago, and it has been kept dry in a small glass bottle: when moistened, the wheel animals in it instantly revive. This agrees with what has been quoted from Leeuwenhoeck. Baker observed a fact little less worthy of notice. He wet the inside of a glass, where wheel animals had been kept dry for some months, and he saw them recover their original vivacity. It is of no consequence though they have revived oftener than once: the same sand has been dried eleven times, and wet as often. I have uniformly seen them die as the water dried, and revive when the sand was moistened.

However, these facts must be understood under some limitation. Though the animals do revive repeatedly, and even after remaining long dry, it is certain that the number revived always decreases in proportion to the time the sand continues longer dry, and the times it has been wet for their resurrection. It is true, I have seen their eleventh resurrection. The first time, they were very numerous, but the numbers continually decreased, and at last became very small. It should be added, that, still wetting and drying the sand, none revived the sixteenth time. It is  
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the same with respect to the sand remaining dry. I took a portion from roofs, at the time numerously inhabited by the animals; and I have preserved it dry in a box for three years, only moistening it every five or six months for my observations, but the resurrections are always fewer; and now, at the end of the third year, it is no exaggeration to say, one third do not revive. I have not extended the experiment further. However, it is undoubted, if the wheel animals grow rare in the same proportion as they continue longer dry, a period will finally come when none will revive.

The time necessary to accomplish resurrection is unlimited. Some begin to live four minutes after moistening the sand; life then extends to more; and in half an hour, all are reanimated (1). I am ignorant what can occasion this difference in the time necessary for resurrection. It may either be, because some are in parts of the sand better moistened than others,—or, although the whole should be moistened at the same time, it may happen that all the wheel animals are not of the same texture. In that case, the more dense  
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(1) Baker's wheel animals began to exhibit life only in half an hour. It would appear, that he speaks of those that were longest of reviving. This might arise from his experiments being made on a species different from mine.

or consistent will more slowly receive the impression of the water, and be longer of reviving; or some may be diseased, and less fit for immediate resurrection. I have not perceived any very sensible difference of time between the resurrection of those that have been dry some hours, and the resurrection of those that have been dry several days, months, or even complete years.

As I knew the influence of heat in restoring the life of animals and vegetables, the sand was frequently moistened with warm water: and the animals revived sooner than when it was wet with water at the temperature of the atmosphere.

But there is one condition indispensable to the resurrection of wheel animals: it is absolutely necessary that there should be a certain quantity of sand; without it they will not revive. Let us enquire further into this. One day I had two wheel animals traversing a drop of water about to evaporate, which contained very little sand. Three quarters of an hour after evaporation, they were dry and motionless. I moistened them with water to revive them: but it was in vain, notwithstanding they were immersed in water many hours. Their members swelled to thrice the original size: but they continued motionless. This circumstance appeared to me the more extraordinary, as it was among the first times I had wet the sand, and of all the animals I had experimented on, these two were the only ones that

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did

did not revive. To ascertain whether the fact was merely accidental, I spread a portion of the sand on a glass slider, and waited until the numerous reanimated wheelers became dry in order to wet the sand anew. The sand was carelessly scattered on the glass so as to be a thin covering on some parts and on others in very small quantity; here the animals did not revive, but all that were in those parts with abundance of sand, revived. A difference so remarkable made me suspect that, the ordinary dwelling of these animals being in sand, a certain portion must be present to enable them to pass from death to life.

However, to acknowledge the truth, though I did not at first adopt this conjecture, I could not divest my mind of it, as it seemed to be confirmed by facts; besides, on recollecting the experiments before made on wheel animals, they had certainly always been in sand. To corroborate or confute the fact, it was only necessary to repeat the last experiment; for, if those that revived had been mixed with sand at the moment of resurrection, or, on the contrary, if those without sand did not revive, it would be complete demonstration of what had been the cause, namely, that the presence of sand was essential to their resurrection. On repeating the experiment, it constantly followed that the animalcula never recovered life unless in places where there was a  
quantity

quantity of sand. One of my friends, an eminent philosopher and an excellent microscopical observer, has uniformly obtained the same result in his experiments (1). The Abbé Roffredi, a good observer, when incidentally speaking of the wheel animal in the *Journal de Physique*, by the Abbé Rozier, mentions the like phenomenon.

To these, the following facts may be added. If the sand containing wheel animals is spread out in such a manner that a considerable quantity is in some places, much less in others, and very little in the rest, and the whole then moistened; in the first case, where it is plentiful, the reviving animals will be numerous; where it is more rare, fewer will recover: And, in the last case, very few, or sometimes none. If a dried portion of sand, which was thick before, is scattered very thin and moistened, few wheelers will appear, though formerly numerous. Their resurrection in a small quantity is uniformly later than where sand abounds; here it will be complete in four minutes: when there is little sand, resurrection will require nine or eleven minutes, and sometimes more.

Have the animals not reviving from a defect of sand, and resembling globules floating in the water; have they lost the resurgent faculty, or do they resume it on being supplied with their

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(1) Il Padre D. Carlo Giuseppe Campi di Milano.



native sand? I have often taken the thin surfaces of sand, wherein the wheel animals did not revive, and put them in the bottom of a watch-glass with water: but of twenty dead, scarcely one revived. It therefore seemed that privation of sand deprived them of the innate faculty of resurrection (1).

How can the simple defect of sand produce so important an effect? What connection, what physical relation is there between sand and the resurrection of wheel animals? May not the cause of this phenomenon be entirely different, and the sand only supply the place of some very simple external condition? When the animals perish where there is no sand, their bodies are exposed to the immediate influence of the air on evaporation of the water: but they are secured from it, at least in a much greater degree, if they die covered with sand. May we therefore affirm, that the lacerating influence of the air, irritating and injuring the corpuscula while still humid, most tender and delicate, renders them incapable of reviving from the alteration undergone? My conjecture is founded on a fact evincing there are  
animals

(1) I have seen the common water snail revive after desiccation a considerable time. When some did not recover, I made several experiments with different kinds of sand, but all have yet been ineffectual.—T.

animals whose structure is so fine and delicate, that, unable to bear the immediate impressions of the air, they always live under cover. Such are the *Miners*, a species of insects so named from inhabiting the interior of the leaves of trees, where they live almost always concealed and protected from the influence of the air. The conjecture would perhaps require an experiment which I had not an opportunity to make. We shall immediately see, that wheel animals revive in *vacuo*. One might put some of those surviving without sand into an exhausted receiver for the water to evaporate, and observe if they revived on being wet, which, according to my supposition, they should, because in that situation they could suffer nothing from the agitation of the air when the water evaporated (1).

We come to another inquiry more important than the preceding: I have hitherto supposed, that the wheel animals *perished* when the fluid dried. It is true they exhibit every appearance of death; the body is dry and disfigured; the

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(1) Not only has the air a sensible effect on the tender bodies of animals, and they endeavour to escape from it, but there are several, even those destitute of vision, which cannot bear the influence of light, a substance infinitely more rare, and retreat from it as from a malignant agent.  
—T.

use and motion of the members are lost. But this must be investigated more profoundly, since it presents the most paradoxical truth to be found in the history of any animal; and we cannot be too diffident and suspicious of such facts. Let us, therefore, inquire, if it is not possible that the animals, to all appearance dead, may preserve some spark of life. And here let us recur to the analogies between large and small animals. Cold, so injurious to insects, renders those lethargic during winter which it does not destroy: their torpor is such, that they seem dead to the sight and the touch: their limbs are stiff and contracted; their wings depressed, and their bodies emaciated. This we daily see in hundreds of insects which we casually find on the coldest days of winter, in the earth, the clefts of trees, or the holes of walls. In this manner does cold operate on animals possessing the highest rank in the animal scale. In the midst of winter, we have found marmots so lethargic, that the flame of a candle burning their limbs could not awaken them, or recall the sensations of life (1). Terrestrial and amphibious animals kept long in water exhibit the same appearances. Redi having immersed flies in water an hour and a half, found them with all the appearance of death. Reaumur

(1) Buffon Histoire Naturelle.

mur made the same experiment on bees. Their vindictive disposition, when rudely handled, is well known. He left a whole swarm, I know not how long, in water, and found them so completely deprived of sensation, that he handled them at pleasure : he took them from the water, put them on a table, and examined whether or not there were several queens. The same may be said of the apparent death of frogs and newts ; after some hours immersion in water, their bodies become flaccid and drooping, just as happens in death.

May not the apparent death of insects and other animals be similar to that of wheel animals among sand ? But they preserve a real principle of sensation and life, which the concurrence of certain circumstances is required to unfold and render capable of animating the whole system. If the air becomes milder, motion and life return in the animals torpid from cold. If the bees and flies that have been immersed in water are exposed to the sunshine, they soon begin to move, expand their wings, and take flight. Frogs and newts recover their natural vivacity after being dry a little time. Why then cannot we say there is some latent spark of life in the wheel animals, which the aid of water is required to discover ?

I 4

Considering

Considering these facts, and allowing their just value, we cannot deny that there is a resemblance between the state of dry wheel animals, and that of the animals we have named, with respect to appearance, perfect immobility, and complete inaction of their whole members. But there is seen a most remarkable and sensible difference, which must create a great distinction between them. In animals torpid from cold, whatever is the agent depriving them of sensation and motion, it only does so by deranging the necessary harmony between the fluids and solids; yet it does not derange them so far as to destroy what constitutes their fluidity or solidity. The same harmony subsists in the inmost parts of the body. I have repeatedly opened newts, frogs, toads, torpid by cold, and apparently dead; and I have found, that notwithstanding the blood did not circulate through the limbs, it continued to circulate in the large vessels, though with extreme languor. If a greater degree of cold has stiffened the solids, if it has coagulated the fluids, then it is certain that the animals perish. This, besides having been found by others in many insects, I have myself seen in the toads, frogs, and newts, of which I speak (1).

I

(1) It is difficult to allow this its full extent. Blumenbach had a frozen frog which revived. Volta had several

I have also found a remnant of motion in the heart and blood of these animals half drowned, and doubt not that it continues in bees and flies. But if they remain long in water, all internal motion is destroyed, and every hope of recovery is gone. It is therefore indubitable, that in these animals returning to life, the quality which constitutes the existence of the fluids, or solids, is not taken away, nor is the harmony that reigns between them totally destroyed. How very different is it with regard to wheel animals. When most vivaciously traversing the fluid, their body resembles a thick jelly; the touch of the point of a needle is ruin and destruction. When dry, the solids are contracted and distorted, the whole body of the animal is reduced to a hard shapeless atom of matter; pierced by a needle, it flies in pieces like a grain of salt. How is it possible that this atom, whose solids preserve no vestige of their former humidity and pliancy, and where the fluids exist no more, how I say, can we suppose, that in this dry and disfigured atom, a principle of life remains? Does animation exist in a frog, a toad, or a newt, when as dry

veral frozen for months, which still exhibited signs of Galvanism; and the author afterwards kept a number of the same animals two years torpid in snow. They were dry, shrivelled, and friable; but revived on the application of heat.—T.

dry and rigid as wheel animals are among the sand? May we conclude, and conclude with reason, that in them and other resurgent animals, life is entirely gone, not only because the reciprocal actions of the fluids and the solids is destroyed, but because the fluids are entirely evaporated, and because dryness and rigidity has changed the natural state of the solids? If we saw a stiff and contracted frog, toad, or newt, gradually revive when put in water, as we should call it a real and absolute resurrection, so should we call that which happens to resurgent wheel animals a real and absolute resurrection also.

But it is time to resume the history of these wonderful animalcula: We have already described their figure and properties, but we have not yet examined their organs separately, which is essential before becoming well acquainted with both. By these I mean the heart, the two trunks, and the wheels, acting at the vortices. I could not properly do this before, because it would have obliged me to deviate from my intended plan, which led to the relation of some facts following the order of time when they had occurred. It was in the prosecution of my observations, that the animal exhibited all the three organs. While animated, it frequently happens that the whole are not shewn at all during the time of animation, or displayed very slowly.

This

This is what I have observed in my wheel animals, and what some of my friends have observed along with me. I did not see the three organs till after twenty-one days examination. Let the reader figure a snail proceeding from its shell; it extends itself, and puts out the head and horns; then retiring within its habitation, it is contracted and conceals them within the body. In this manner he will sensibly conceive the motions of the two trunks and wheels of our animalcula. Those then examined, and afterwards seen, did not always display both the trunks and wheels at the same moment, but, like snails, sometimes concealed the one and sometimes the other, which happened whenever they contracted themselves; and when remaining long extended, the trunks and wheels were kept out a long time also. The wheels receive this appellation in a very improper sense, and by means of a sort of latitude or accommodation.—In the tract on infusion animalcula, I have treated at length of the minute, long, and slender fibrils proceeding from the edge of the mouth of many of these beings: I have said they were in continual vibration; that they produced a certain vortex in the infusions, which carried the corpuscula feeding the animalcule to its mouth. The wheels of wheel animals are only two circular lines of similar fibrillæ constantly in motion: they produce the same effect with the



the vibrating points or fibres of infusion animalcula, forming two great vortices which convey the animal's food to it. A wheeler is exhibited, with the trunks extended, and the fibrils whose motion resembles that of two wheels, and forms two vortices, fig. 5, plate 3.

When I say, the wheels of my animalcula are such only in appearance, I do not mean that this will extend as a general rule to all. The optical illusion indeed has been corrected by some naturalists, particularly M. Trembley and Bonnet; but it is certain, that the opinion of others is different. Leeuwenhoeck, that deep and acute observer of the most minute objects, actually calls them wheels, which revolve like those constructed by mechanics. Baker, who is not inferior to him in accuracy of observation, and has studied the wheels most attentively to discover whether they are truly such or only vibrating fibrillæ, is more inclined to believe them wheels. What these two able naturalists have observed may very well coincide with my remarks, for their wheel animals have been specifically different from mine. A singular aperture for a mouth situated between the wheels, a sort of ring beneath it, a number of serpentine vessels in the head, the peristaltic motion of the intestines, the irregular agitation of a transparent fluid in every part of the body, a particular undulation of that fluid

fluid in the intestines and skin, were seen by the English philosopher in his wheel animals; and although he has accurately described them, I have been able to find none similar in mine. There is no doubt that I might have seen all these organs, both because I used Cuff's microscope, as Baker had done, and also some which were much superior. With this different organization, it is not wonderful that his wheel animals exhibited another organ which I have not found in mine; that is, a pair of wheels proceeding from the two trunks, whose revolution produces the same effect as vibration of the fibrilli, and forms a most rapid current, which carries particles to the animal's mouth. It must be remarked, with Baker, that this apparent rotation is not always executed with equal velocity, nor in one direction. Sometimes it is very quick, sometimes very slow; and these alternatives are either instantaneously or gradually effected. The animal, at one time, turns to the right or the left; and, after moving long at one side, it often interrupts the vortex and begins it in a part diametrically opposite.

Let us leave this brief digression, and return to our animals. They no longer crawl at the bottom when the fibrilli appear, but swim through the whole fluid with the greatest velocity. Examining them while in the act of swimming, I have

have often endeavoured to discover whether they swim by undulation of the body, or by vibrations of the fibrilli, which, besides producing the vortices, may raise and conduct the wheel animal by their action against the water. But it has not been in my power to elucidate the fact satisfactorily; however, I should incline to think they swim by means of the vibrating fibrilli, since they generally cease when these are drawn within the body (1).

I have already spoke of a little circle situated towards the head, which appears like the junction of two C's by the extremities. This part is in constant motion by alternate contraction and dilation, while the animal forms the vortex, and the fibrils are extended. Both Leeuwenhoeck and Baker have observed it, and thought it the wheel animal's heart. Are we sure it is this organ? The situation, figure, contraction, and dilation, concur, according to the English naturalist, to support the opinion. But if it is a heart, it is

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(1) Some animalcula certainly may swim in this way; but the wheels of this animal in particular, bear so small a proportion to the size of the body, that it is difficult to conceive their power to convey it along: besides, its specific gravity is greater than that of water. I should imagine it more probable that the wheel animal swims by undulation.—T.

a voluntary muscle, which beats at the will of the animal; that is, when it protrudes the fibrilli and forms the vortex: and this *spontaneity*, if I may use the expression, has, before me, been observed by others. Are there animals whose heart beats by intervals, so that pulsation may cease when the animal chuses? Wheel animals sometimes remain several weeks alive in water without making the vortex, consequently without moving the heart. Is it possible that any animal can exist so long without pulsation of the heart, the animating spring of the whole machine? These are two paradoxes which may be no less true than others more wonderful, such as the resurrection of the wheel animal. Though this particle may be thought a real heart, either from performing functions similar, from its situation in the region of the breast, from contraction and dilation like another heart, still these are not convincing reasons, because it may be an organ destined for very different purposes. I ought to say, as I think, that it is more natural to believe it to be an organ serving for the aliments; and that the contraction and dilation is for receiving the food and transmitting it to the stomach. Such an hypothesis will easily explain why it is in motion only while the vortex is formed: it is because aliment is then drawn to the mouth and transmitted to the body. If the part remains long motionless,

motionless, it is because no food is taken, and this commonly happens when the animals, being in an unsuitable situation, languish and die; which is sometimes the case with those revived in sand kept in close vessels. Then I have seen, that although the sand swarmed with wheel animals during the first days, the number decreased, and thus continued to such a degree, that in twelve or fifteen days the whole were dead. They appeared lifeless and disfigured at the bottom of the vessels, and many were even reduced to nothing. During this period of disease, the vortex was seldom made; but it is almost always formed when we find them in sewers, in pits or holes of rain water (1).

It is not an imaginary idea that this particle is an organ formed for the receptacle of the aliment, and to transmit it to the stomach. It is founded,  
 1. On observing in my wheel animals a kind of little canal united to it, fig. 3. B. 5. E. which, rising towards the head, greatly resembles an oesophagus. 2. This part is surely appropriated for that purpose in other aquatic animals, bearing  
 great

(1) 'The heart of the wheel animal, which both Scopoli and Spallanzani affirm is at rest when its filaments do not move, I have sometimes seen in motion. It is rather a muscle for deglutition.' Muller, Anim. Infus. p. 297.—T.

great relation to wheel animals, which may afford a strong corroboration of the fact. Such is an animal often found on the tremella, shorter and a little thicker than the wheel animal. The posterior part is provided with two diverging filaments, with which it fixes itself to any substance. At the anterior part are long slender fibrils, occasioning a vortex in the water when the animal puts them in motion, fig. 6. There is no motion when the fibrils are at rest. While moving, and during the continuance of the vortex, a particle, A, similar in figure to that we speak of in the wheel animal, is seen almost in the centre of the animal: it alternately contracts and dilates, but motion ceases with cessation of the vortex. This difference only is to be remarked; the particle of the wheel animal is formed by two semicircular cavities, whereas that in the tremella animal resembles a bladder or folliculus. The particle and canal, towards the region of the head, are connected, as in the wheel animal, by a short duct, B, terminating at the mouth of the animal, and at the opposite extremity it enters another folliculus, C, which not only moves with alternate contraction and dilation, but undulates like a wave at rest. This folliculus is precisely the receptacle of the aliments. It is always full of a yellowish green matter, which, from time to time, proceeds from

the posterior part by means of the undulating or peristaltic motion. But we not only observe the food discharged from the body, we see it enter ; that is, fragments of the tremella are seen conveyed by the vortex to the animal's mouth, infusion animalcula of various sizes, and particles of other substances. Some of the most minute enter the origin of the œsophagus, traverse the moving particle, and arrive at the passage for the receptacle of the aliment (1).

The same thing is observed in another animal of the tremella, which is mentioned in the tract on infusion animalcula, pl. 1, fig. 10, R. The moving particle of this animalcule, for it has one as well as the wheel animal, contracts and dilates, while the aliment, collected by the vortex, passes from the œsophagus to the stomach. Thus we see a particle in these animals, which, in situation, figure, and motion, resembles a heart, although it is not one, but an organ destined for the use of the aliment. For these reasons do I ascribe the same use to that of the wheel animal.

If I am right, the wheel animal has no heart : we see no other part, no other organ,  
that

(1) This seems to be Muller's *Vorticella Furcata*, p. 299. There is no figure of it among the plates, for which a reason is given in a note. I do not remember to have met with it.—T.

that can merit the name. If we may judge of this by the senses, I say, it has none more than the two tremella animals, many infusion animalcula, the prodigious number and variety of polypi visible by the microscope and to the naked eye, to omit many animals which it would be tedious to enumerate. I have never seen the appearance of circulation in wheel animals, infusion animalcula, in those of the tremella, or in polypi. Although Baker has observed the irregular agitation of a fluid in wheel animals, he ingenuously avows that he has never perceived any trace of real circulation; yet all feed, increase, and multiply, as those animals which have a heart and circulation. Neither are they essential to the vital functions of many; for these, it is enough that there is a just equilibrium, a corresponding harmony between the fluids and the solids. The idea we form of a heart and circulation are particular notions derived from a definite number of animals, which demonstrate the limits of our knowledge and understanding, and would ill apply if we meant to adopt them to the immensity of models framed by nature.

The wheel animals inhabiting the roofs of houses, towers, and other buildings exposed to the inclemency of the weather, should be of a constitution calculated to support the severest effects of heat and cold. I put them to the test.

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From



From a sewer in a south exposure, I took wheel animals' sand, which had been exposed to the heat of the sun twenty-nine days in the middle of summer. The thermometer stood at  $129^{\circ}$ ,  $133^{\circ}$ ,  $138^{\circ}$ , in the sunshine; but the animals were not injured, for I had a great number very vivacious when the sand was wet.

A little of this sand was exposed the whole summer, in very thin glass tubes, on the outside of a south window, where the reflection of a neighbouring wall excited extreme heat. During some of the hottest days, the thermometer rose to  $142^{\circ}$ ; but this did not injure the wheel animals. On wetting the sand, they appeared with the same liveliness and vigour, and in the same abundance, as in other sand from the same place exposed in a north window, and seldom or never experiencing the solar rays. Therefore it is evident, that the excessive heat of summer is not so prejudicial to wheel animals as to destroy the resurgent faculty.

But is it the same when revived? Is this degree of heat equally supportable? I have also exposed the tubes with sand and water, containing a great number of living wheel animals, in the same warm situation. The consequence was very different. In half an hour, the heat of the sun at  $135^{\circ}$  killed them. Thus, it is otherwise with wheel animals, dry and deprived of life, and when they are animated and in motion. I afterwards

wards saw that resuscitated wheel animals died at a much more gentle degree of heat, when exposed in the sunshine at  $113^{\circ}$ .

The heat of the fire has the same effect as that of the solar rays. Although the revived animals perish at  $111^{\circ}$  and  $113^{\circ}$ , if dry, they do not lose the power of resurrection at  $144^{\circ}$ . I could extend my experiments further with common fire than the sun. The heat was raised above  $144^{\circ}$ , to see whether dry wheel animals would revive; for it was probable there were limits here, and these I found at  $153^{\circ}$ . Sand exposed to this heat, presented few wheel animals; and exposed to  $158^{\circ}$ , none appeared. But there is one circumstance necessary to be remarked. The experiments were made dry, that is, keeping the sand two or three minutes exposed to the heat. The consequences were very different on using wet sand, immersing it two or three minutes in water warmed to that degree: then the animals did not revive after  $131^{\circ}$ .

It is not difficult to explain why the destruction of reanimated wheel animals is easier than when in their state of desiccation. The former are a kind of jelly, consequently most delicate. Their minute filaments are easily broken and destroyed by the penetrating power of heat, which cannot operate with such facility when they are dry: then the parts are concentrated within

K 3

themselves,

themselves, compressed and indurated. Besides, in this state, their globular figure presents less surface to the action of the fire. The heat acts alone on dry wheel animals; when alive, it acts in conjunction with the water, which powerfully concurs in lacerating them and destroying their organization, from its particles being subtilized by the heat and rendered more active and penetrating. Thus it is that dry wheel animals can resist the heat of warm water less than that of the fire itself.

Having seen the effect of heat on wheel animals, it was necessary to see the effect of cold. With this intent, I took the sand of sewers and from the hollows of the eaves and tiles, where they are found during the most intense cold of winter, when roofs are covered with snow and ice. The sand, moistened with water, became so firm and connected by the cold that it was as hard as a stone; but the wheel animals were not injured. After melting this mixture of ice and sand, a great many revived; however, their resurrection appeared less immediate.

The greatest cold of winter was  $16^{\circ}$ . I therefore determined to expose the wheelers found on roofs to a degree more intense: and taking some portions of frozen sand from the bottom of a sewer, I put them in a glass vessel which was placed three hours in cold  $11^{\circ}$  below 0, obtained

ed by means of the mixture I have often mentioned. The revival of the animals, after the ice melted, proved that they had suffered no injury.

I next sought for the result of the experiment inverfed ; that is, what would happen on transmitting wheel animals, from the degree of heat at which they were animated, to various degrees of cold always more intense. One morning, some were taken in a watch-glass to a north window, where the thermometer stood at  $25^{\circ}$ , and I attentively observed what passed. When the water became so cold that the hand could scarcely be kept in it, the wheel animals interrupted the vortex and fell to the bottom, crawling languidly over the sand. The water soon froze ; then they moved with difficulty, and soon ceased. When more frozen, they contracted within themselves, forming into globules which were clearly seen from the transparency of the ice. Thus they passed the whole day and following night, which was very cold. Next day, I removed them to a warm situation, to see whether those in the ice, under the figure of globules, would recover when it melted. They did so, even when remaining longer in the ice, and when the natural cold was increased by means of fictitious to  $11^{\circ}$  under 0.

Reasoning from the experiments by cold as from those by heat, it might be inferred, that

revived wheel animals should not support the same degree as those which are dead; if, on the other hand, these last facts did not evince that when the cold begins to act powerfully on those revived, they pass from life to death, as appears by the cessation of motion, their contraction and disfiguration, so that they become exactly as when evaporation of the water leaves them dry in the sand. But I do not know that the action of extreme cold will deprive living wheel animals of life. It is certain that it could not destroy animalcula equally delicate, such as some infusion animalcula and the eels of vinegar. Yet, what is more surprising, the animalcula of infusions and the eels of vinegar perish with less heat than wheel animals: they cannot support more than  $111^{\circ}$ . At that degree several species of beetles, chrysalids and caterpillars, perish, as I before observed, though they can support  $34^{\circ}$  below freezing. This shews that many animals in similar situations can support cold better than heat.

From the facts hitherto related, we collect that there are two principal causes destructive of the resurgent quality in wheel animals, the want of sand and of heat. Are there others also producing the same effect? I could discover it only by conjecture, and using the different methods prejudicial to the production and life of other animals, especially of those bearing the greatest analogy

logy to wheel animals, as the animalcula of infusions. It has been proved that these are produced in vacuo. This seems an effectual method for preventing the resurrection of wheel animals, though we cannot deny that their resurrection is facilitated by the influence of the air. The principal results of repeated experiments, are, 1. Wheel animals revive sooner and in greater number in the open air than in vacuo. 2. Those that do not revive in vacuo, recover when put in the open air.

However much air may promote the resurrection of wheel animals, it is absolutely necessary for the preservation of their lives. When they revive in vacuo, or are put into an exhausted receiver, they die in a few days.

If wheel animals did revive in vacuo, though not so successfully as in the open air, it was very reasonable to suppose they would also revive in confined air, though it is one method of preventing the development and of occasioning the destruction of other animals confined in very small vessels. I sealed up some with wet sand in vessels: they always revived very soon, and in abundance: they have even lived long, though, from the extreme smallness of the vessels, there could be very little air.

Wheel animals suffer from many fluids what they do not suffer from privation of air, or from  
air

air confined. The liquids injurious and advantageous to them are the following: Those innoxious, I understand to be such as either revive them or preserve them alive when recovered; and of this nature are, pit, river, ice, snow, and rain-water, distilled water, that of ditches, marshes, and pools, the foetid water of mud and dunghills. With respect to the fluids pernicious, they are either those impregnated with pepper, common salt, sal-gem, sugar, vitriol; those in which are expressed the juice of onions, garlic, urine, ink, wine, verjuice, oil of olives, or nuts, brandy, vinegar, and the like. I never saw wheel animals revive when their sand was put into any of these fluids, and all the revived animals put into them perished. Some strong and penetrating odours have been equally fatal, such as that of camphor. All the living ones long exposed to its effluvia die, and these exposed dry do not recover. The oil of turpentine produces only the first effect. But if the odour becomes more active, as by melting or burning the turpentine, the fumes prevent the reviviscence of the animals. Both effects are produced by the fumes of burning sulphur and camphor; only revived wheelers are destroyed by those of leaf tobacco.

Reflecting on the experiments by means of heat, liquids, and odours, I have sometimes doubted whether these three agents had deprived  
the

the animals of the resurgent property for ever, or if there was any reason to hope that it might be recovered. In a being like the wheel animal, this hope did not seem chimerical, nor would it have been wonderful to see it recover the faculty which it naturally possesses. I have preserved sand that had been exposed to heat, and from time to time wet it with pure water, and often observed it. The same has been done with sand exposed to liquids and odours, keeping it in the air and wetting it with fresh water, that the noxious qualities which injured the wheel animals might be destroyed. But the numerous dead bodies have never been re-animated by these methods.

The wheel animals, which suggested the opinion I have laid down, were for the greater part found in sewers and the hollows of tiles, among a substance which, for brevity, has been called sand, though, to speak more properly, it is a mixture of earth, sand, and the fragments of tiles. This sand, for I shall continue to call it so, is the abode of wheel animals, but in some kinds they are much more numerous than in others. It is singular, that if the sand is reddish, it is almost a certain indication, according to Baker, of their presence. They are always inanimate when the sand is dry. By one accustomed to observe wheel animals in the dry state from evaporation of the water, they are easily recognized.



recognized when the sand is presented on a slider to the microscope. Then they are in the figure of minute dry globules of a reddish yellow colour, which, by humectation, expand into so many animated wheelers.

Besides roofs and tiles, particular waters contain them. Both Baker and myself have often seen them in ditches; and I have taken many from pools, marshes, and even holes of standing water.

The wheel animals of the earth are, in my opinion, the origin of those of roofs: and this seems a necessary conclusion; at least we cannot say those of one roof come to another, which supposes a particular case: but to speak generally, and consider the origin of the matter, we must derive their origin elsewhere, consequently recur to the waters. The manner in which they pass from the earth to roofs, may be easily conceived; in their dry state, the wind may transport them through the air, whenever their native element is entirely or partially dried up.

In my studies on these curious beings, I have always reflected on a most important problem, to inquire into their mode of propagation. With this view, I have isolated them in watch-glasses like infusion animalcula, putting one in each; but I could never observe them propagate either by shoots or division: though both ways are  
common

common among aquatic animals. Neither was it by a foetus, but I had reason to think it was by means of eggs. When the animals had been some days revived, an ovular substance was seen in the body of the largest, Pl. 3. fig. 5. N : and when I happened to find them dead, they always had this ovular substance. But it had in general passed from their bodies into the glass without the means being known : at the same time with an important singularity : when entire, the isolated animal swam alone in the fluid ; but when the substance was broken, another wheel animal much smaller swam along with it. This made me suspect, that the new inhabitant had come from the ovular substance, which, as other eggs, was broken for exclusion of the animalcule. One might suspect, that it also was carried thither by the air ; however, to ascertain the fact, it was necessary to see the wheeler issue from the ovular substance, which, notwithstanding all my care and attention, I could never accomplish.

Baker's observations agree with mine, though he has not been more fortunate. He thinks wheel animals are oviparous, because he has often observed a considerable number of gelatinous eggs of proportional size in the water along with them. He has also observed in a species of wheel animals, a little larger than the most common kind, an elliptic body, the figure of which  
very

very much resembles the substance I have described: but he never had the satisfaction to see one excluded: nor has he seen a wheel animal come from the gelatinous eggs, though he kept them three years.

The learned Abbate Roffredi has enjoyed the good fortune denied to Baker and me, and put the finishing stroke to our observations. Incidentally speaking of the wheel animal in Rozier's *Journal*, he says, in express terms, he has seen it delivered of an egg, and an animal proceed from the egg. 'Leeuwenhoeck is mistaken in thinking the wheel animal viviparous; and what he supposed excrements in the intestines is really an egg, which I have seen it produce, and often continued to observe until it was hatched.' If Roffredi's observation is correct, which, indeed, cannot be doubted, a fact in the history of the wheel animal is elucidated which should deeply interest the naturalist.

The solution of this problem, added to my observations, discovers another important truth, namely, that wheel animals undergo no metamorphosis. I have collected many minute ones produced in a watch-glass. They always continued growing; but when killed and revived their increment was slow; and quick, on the contrary, when they were kept continually wet. When full grown, each generally laid an egg, which

which produced another wheel animal. Thus I know, from the time of exclusion until maturity, they undergo no change. We cannot call it a metamorphosis when they are produced, for then they have attained their greatest perfection. The insects that metamorphose never propagate their species until they become winged animals, that is, until they have acquired the last degree of perfection to which metamorphosis will bring them.

Finally, my observations have shown me, that wheel animals are hermaphrodites in the most rigorous sense. I have obtained the fifth generation from many eggs which were isolated in watch-glasses to remove all suspicion of copulation.

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## SECTION II.

### THE SLOTH, ANGUILLÆ OF TILES, AND THOSE OF BLIGHTED CORN.

**T**HE sand of tiles, the mud of ditches and marshes, which pass in the vulgar eye for the vilest of matter, are sources of wonder to the philosophic observer,

server, from the rare and singular beings they contain. To the mud of ditches and marshes we owe the cluster, armed, bulb, funnel, and knotted polypus. It is there we find the fresh water worm; the boat worm, and the dart millepede, animals that have confounded the human mind, and created a new philosophy. When the sand of tiles is not the abode of wheel animals, it is not then the less famous or remarkable. An animal which revives after death, and which, within certain limits, revives as often as we please, is a phenomenon as incredible as it seems improbable and paradoxical. It confounds the most received ideas of animality; it creates new ideas, and becomes an object no less interesting to the researches of the naturalist than the speculation of the profound metaphysician. But the celebrity of this sand will increase, by learning that it contains other animals, which, like the wheeler, possess the property of resurrection: so that we may almost say, all the animals living in sand are immortal. There I have discovered two new species of animals, which I proceed to describe. I lament that their rareness has prevented me from extending my observations as far as I could have wished, or rather as far as the importance of the subject would have required.

On wetting wheel animals' sand, I several times observed a yellowish animal three or four times larger

larger than a wheeler with six legs ; but I paid no particular attention to it, supposing that it was some little terrestrial insect that had casually fallen into the watch-glass where the sand was kept. My reason for thinking so, was from always having seen it move obliquely and very slowly at the bottom of the water, as if unable to walk, and often supine, making great exertions to recover its natural position, but they were in general fruitless, as happens to many aerial and terrestrial insects casually falling into water. At the same time, with more continued and careful observation, I recognized it as an animal really aquatic, and perceived that its awkward and laborious mode of progression was from the smoothness of the glass slider on which it had been put for examination, and, when placed on sand, that it had a regular progressive motion, slow indeed, and, compared with the wheel animals' motion, like the crawling of a tortoise. Thus to design it by some descriptive name, I called it the *Sloth*.

The whole body is granulated : the anterior part obtuse : and the posterior terminated by four hooked filaments, which serve for attaching it to any particular place. The limbs have small shining claws, or nails, which, as far as one can judge, are of a corneous substance, the points turned towards the body, as we see in the re-

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L

curved

curved claws of several insects. The corpulence of the sloth, rendering it opaque, prevents us from seeing the internal organization. But we can perceive a small elliptical spot in the middle of the body, which I suspect to be the reservoir of the aliments. In the anterior part is also distinguished an internal lucid spot, smaller, narrower, and longer than the other, which I have sometimes supposed the œsophagus. The figure of the whole is clumsy, and very much resembles the testicle of a cock. The sloth is represented supine, fig. 7. pl. 3. the profile is seen fig. 8.

This animalcule forms no vortex in the water, which is not surprising, as it has neither the wheels nor fibrillæ of the animals that perform this operation. It appears that the wheel animal cannot advance a step without fixing the trident to some adjacent substance; it is otherwise with the sloth, for it often makes no use of its hooked filaments. It never swims; it is specifically heavier than the water; thence it always turns round on the surface of the sand, or amongst it.

The phenomena of its death, from the want of water, and of resurrection when water is supplied, are precisely the same with those of the wheel animal. Motion gradually ceases: the limbs are contracted and drawn entirely within the body, which diminishes very much, is completely dried, and assumes a globular figure, pl. 4. fig.

11

1. The reverse succeeds when the sloth is revived by supplying water. As the wheel animal can only revive a certain number of times, so it is with the sloth. And, although sand is necessary for its resurrection, it does not appear so essential as for that of the wheel animal.

The degrees of heat, fatal to revived or dead wheel animals, are also fatal to sloths; and the same may be said of odours and liquors. Cold, however intense, does them no harm, and in this they likewise coincide with wheel animals.

Sloths are infinitely more rare than wheel animals: for five and twenty of these, four or five sloths are hardly found. All are of the same figure, but not equal in size. I have isolated many in watch-glasses, sometimes with sand and sometimes with pure water, intending to discover their mode of propagation, but, instead of multiplying, all perished: some sooner, some later, none ever attaining the sixth day (1).

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(1) This animalcule is uncommonly rare. I have never seen a description of it by any other naturalist: and it only occurred to me in two infusions. Muller's *Cercaria Hirta*, which he found but twice, seems to have some resemblance, but he does not say enough of the properties to ascertain it, nor does he remark any feet. I had mine from June until the following February. They were very



The third species of resurgent animals found in sand consists of certain minute eels, very like the *anguillæ*

very minute, not one tenth of the size of those mentioned in the text, which, added to their rarity, was an absolute bar to experiment. They had no terminating projections or hooks, nor were the different fasciæ visible. However, I sometimes thought two hooks of very few were perceptible, but I could never be certain. The animal was perfectly opaque, which prevented any observation of the interior part. There was no sand in the infusion, which had been made of dried twigs eight or ten months before, and the sloth's natural abode was among the particles of matter, especially on the twigs. How it propagates I am ignorant : it did not multiply much.

I have discovered another animal which most probably belongs to this singular class. It was in an infusion the same as the former, and there I had it from the beginning of May until the end of August. It then disappeared, and I saw one in the subsequent February. In one other infusion, I found two or three nearly the same. It bears the greatest resemblance to a most minute caterpillar, both in appearance and motion. It moves little, and then with great awkwardness and languor. The largest might be about one-third of a line in length, and perceptible by the naked eye, which could only distinguish a long white speck, but few are of this size. Instead of six legs and four hooks, there are eight legs, the two last exactly like those of a caterpillar. With the second highest magnifier of my microscope, I could observe each of the six  
legs

anguillæ of vinegar. This species is much rarer, nor is it to be found on every roof. The head and

legs terminated by two long claws a little curved; whether the two hind ones were terminated by three, four, or five, could never be ascertained; circumstances were very seldom so favourable as to admit of the others being seen. In some, I thought the eye might be distinguished, and an aperture for receiving aliment. There is a great difference of size. Most of them are of an opaque dusky brown, which seems their natural colour. Some are perfectly transparent, which I suppose are dead, for no motion has ever been evident, although the fact is not absolutely certain.

I know very little more of the propagation of this animal than that of the former, except from conjecture. One night in May, I was surprised to see three large round substances in the body of a sloth: it made no impression on me at the time; but returning to observation, several nights afterwards, I saw the body of another, of the largest size, completely filled from end to end of the whole with ten large eggs. I do not think there was room for one more. Every moment I expected to see an egg proceed from the body. The observation was continued for hours, and during the next day. The same number remained: the animal was then obscured by some particles of matter, and all endeavours to recover it ineffectual. Nor has my success been greater with the few others appearing with eggs; for, notwithstanding all possible care and attention, I never could see one produced. The sloths containing them were all perfectly transparent and motionless. The

and adjoining part of the body are very transparent, and of a shining silver colour: the tail is the same, but the intermediate part is darkish and all granulated. The greater part of the tail is bent, and terminates in a very sharp point. The head, on the contrary, is obtuse; and a little below the extremity there is a mouth, which terminates a canal, apparently serving for an œsophagus, and traversing the whole length of the body, pl. 4. fig. 2.

If

number contained from one to ten. I saw one with a single egg, so large as to distend the body in the middle very much. Whether these substances are eggs or fœtuses is uncertain: they are probably the latter included by a fine integument; and I rather suppose that the body of the mother bursts to give them an exit or immediately after they are produced. It is much more difficult to isolate an animal that almost never moves than another that is continually traversing a fluid. Sometimes I did succeed in isolating sloths with eggs in watch-glasses. When the young appeared, the parent was no longer visible, at least I could not find it; and they were remarkably small in comparison to others. There was no sand where they were found; their natural abode was among the particles of vegetable substance. I did not succeed in reviving them; but their scarcity prevented me from making repeated and accurate experiments. This, if it is a sloth, may be named *Tardigradus Octopdalis*, and that in the text *Tardigradus Italicus*.—T.

If the sand is quite dry, they are seen motionless, dried up, and generally bent into a spiral. When considerably sprinkled with water, they soon exhibit signs of life. The tail first commences a gentle motion, bending and turning in different directions: the head then moves, and afterwards the rest of the body: so that the whole animal soon becomes animated. Whence it results, that the same degree of humidity is not required to animate this species as for the wheel animal and sloth, which do not revive unless completely immersed in water. The eels do not change their place: they only extend, contract, turn, and bend. If the sand is thoroughly wet, their activity and rapidity of course is as great as that of the eels of vinegar. Provided they have water, they live long in watch-glasses: if there is sand at the bottom, they seldom quit it, always moving about the grains and pushing their heads among them, which would induce us to suppose that they do so in search of food, for some more minute and delicate particles are transmitted by the mouth to the oesophagus. Notwithstanding they have been long kept in glasses, I never saw them propagate.

When the water evaporates, they die; but they resist death longer than wheel animals and sloths. A small degree of motion remains several minutes after evaporation. When dead, the fi-

gure of the body is changed : the length is contracted, and the breadth diminished. They insensibly resume their original size on humectation, and animation returns. There are conditions necessary for resurrection : When the eels are in sand, a quarter of an hour is sufficient for recalling them to life ; but in pure water, there is a great difference according to circumstances. If only the first or second time of revival, there is not much difference in the time required for resurrection ; but, in proportion as the number of resurrections increases, the time necessary for revival always becomes greater : an hour at least, and sometimes more, is required for the fourth ; for the fifth still longer, and so on for the rest. The frequency of resurrection in pure water, as in sand, is limited, like that of wheel animals and sloths. The eels die for ever at the seventh or the eighth, or, at most, the ninth resurrection ; and, although moistened again, they revive no more. Part of their rapidity and activity is lost in each resurrection, so that the last is but a simple change from immobility to languid contortions of the members.

Here then are three species of animals, inhabiting the sand of roofs, which nature has permitted to revive after death. These three are the only inhabitants of this sand, at least I do not think I have ever seen other animated beings there, having

ing a permanent abode. They are not the only animals, however, that enjoy the privilege of resurrection; others also possess it: among these, the celebrated eels of blighted corn deserve to be particularly mentioned. All the world knows that Mr Needham is the author of this famous discovery. Examining the internal surface of blighted corn, he saw with agreeable surprise that it was composed of minute eels, which, on being wet, acquired motion, and gave certain indications of life. Their immediate resurrection, as he has observed, takes place when the ears are gathered still fresh and humid: if they have been gathered some time, and have lost their humidity, maceration is necessary; nor will this always be sufficient for resurrection; it is even requisite that the eels remain a given time in the water. When allowed to dry, they become motionless, and recover life on humectation. But what chiefly surprised the author of the discovery was, after having preserved the blighted corn for two years and more, the same phenomena were observed anew when it was wet.

The fact was too wonderful for others not to endeavour to ascertain it. It has been corroborated by several good observers, such as the illustrious translator of Mr Needham's work, where this discovery is spoken of (1); by the Count Ginnani

(1) *Nouvelles Observations Microscopiques.*

Ginnani (1); but by Baker in particular, in his excellent treatise on the *eels of blighted corn* (2). Among other things, he has seen the resurrection of eels taken from grain that had been dry four years. This observation he made before Mr Folkes, then President of the Royal Society, and other friends. But he witnessed a resurrection much more wonderful, which was effected after a far-longer time. In 1771, he had some blighted corn which he had got from Mr Needham in 1744. In his experiments, resurrection succeeded perfectly at the end of twenty-seven years (3).

In short, there is not at this day any professor, any amateur of natural history, particularly in Italy, who does not take pleasure in amusing himself, and gratifying the curiosity of his learned friends, with these admirable resurrections. For this reason, I judge it needless to stop and prove their reality by new facts, and to speak of the origin and generation of the eels; for we know that this, which is a most essential part of their history, has been amply elucidated by the learned labours of Italians. The results of some of my trivial observations only shall be related, which will

(1) Delle Malattie del grano in erba.

(2) Employment for the Microscope.

(3) Journal de Rozier.

will both serve as proofs of their history, and are analogous to those we have given of other resurgent animalcula.

The external colour of a grain of blighted corn, that has been kept some time, is like foot : if broken, the internal substance consists of a dry whitish matter, which, examined with the microscope, changes to a mass of long eel-shaped corpuscula. They are not only excessively dry, but lifeless, and so confused and confounded together, that it is extremely difficult to separate them without rupture.

If the grain has been some hours infused in water, and the extremity adroitly cut off, without injuring the interior, and then pressed with pincers, a parcel of minute eels are seen passing through the hole, just like a bit of paste drawn into a thread. When dropped into water, they scatter ; and, falling to the bottom, are extended as so many straight lines, or a little curved, and remain in this position until revival.

Such variety has occurred in the time for revival, computing from the moment of humectation, that I have never seen the same thing twice. The anguillæ of some grains were reanimated in three hours or less ; and others, in four or five. Some required twenty hours or more, and some, complete days. All those of the same grain were not reanimated at once ; sometimes

two



two days intervened between the animation of the first and last. The whole do not revive : some are disfigured and lacerated, part are always so ; but some apparently entire and unhurt remain motionless. Resurrection is affected by the state of the weather : it is accelerated by heat, and retarded by cold ; but here also are irregularities.

It may be useful to describe the symptoms which announce the revival of the eels. The first indication of returning life is a deviation from the straight lines their dead bodies formed : the head and tail begin to curve, though the rest of the body continues in a straight line. Sometimes the two extremities do not bend : the body only becomes a little arched in the middle. One will gently oscillate, while the other does not move : sometimes they approach each other until a circle is formed by the extremities touching. One extremity will rest on the other, or glide over it, or both are entwined together : sometimes the whole body is rolled into a spiral in more or fewer, in wider or narrower volutions. These bendings, arcs, oscillations, circles, twinings, glidings, volutes ; these contortions are formed and destroyed, and repeated at first very languidly, then in a manner more lively and perceptible. This strange variety of motions, with others which it is unnecessary to describe, continues during all the time they live. Whence it appears they have nothing that may properly be called

called progressive motion, which constitutes a difference between them and the other resurgent animals. They never rise in the water, nor do they crawl on the sides of the vessel; they constantly remain at the bottom, appearing like a pellicle or spot darker or lighter according as they are more or less numerous.

If the water fails, whether by evaporation or otherwise, the eels gradually become lifeless, and motion ceases when there is no more water. The other three kinds of resurgent animals have the prudence to fly the places where the water dries; but the eels continue in the same spot without attempting to escape.

In several hours, they become very dry, and adhere to the substances below so tenaciously, that it is difficult to separate them without breaking: when wet, they separate easily, especially with the point of a needle. They soon soften, and, becoming pliant, it is evident they are of a gelatinous consistence: and an iron instrument cannot touch them without injury. This, at least, happens while alive: when dead some days, they are still very fragile, yet have more cohesion than one would think: they resist the point of a needle, and do not suffer from a drop of water let fall from a considerable height. If dry only a quarter of an hour, the contact of water re-animates them; and in a little they become as vivacious

winacious as before. Urine, salt water, and vinegar, produce similar effects, though fatal in other circumstances, as we shall see. When dry during some days, they require a full hour for revival. If one has patience to wet them, and allow them to dry, death and resurrection will be seen in an important limitation : which is, the oftener humectation is repeated, the less the number of resurgents will be, and the longer time required for revival. I had a number of lively eels in a watch-glass, the first time they were revived : one thousandth part did not revive the eleventh time, and the seventeenth there was not one. I have often repeated this important fact, and always with the same consequence, except that the reviving eels either went beyond the seventeenth time, or died before attaining it. Not only wheel animals, sloths, and the minute eels of roofs, but also those of blighted corn, enjoy the property of resurrection circumscribed within certain limits, beyond which it is lost. The body to revive must be entire. Eels, cut into two or more parts, though often wet, and remaining long in water, never exhibit any sign of motion. All sensation is lost on division in two, after a slight universal vibration or convulsion of the body.

I have subjected the eels, as well as wheel animals, to different experiments, and first to electricity, using Franklin's battery. Those alive  
died

died instantaneously, and those dead at the time, lost the property of resurrection. This did not surprise me : for almost all were broken or disfigured by the traversing shock. There was a difference in the results, if the blighted corn was subjected to the same experiment; few revived when the grains had been previously macerated : if the grains were dry, many recovered life.

As salt water, urine, and vinegar are unfit for reviving the *anguillæ*, at least if they have been only a short time dry, so are they fatal to them when revived ; not so instantaneously, however, as to other animalcula, for eels will move in them some hours after immersion.

A vacuum does not prejudice their resurrection, whether the first time after proceeding from the grain or in future : only, resurrection is not so soon accomplished as in the open air.

The heat of the sun or the fire at  $140^{\circ}$  kills them in several hours : motion and life are almost immediately destroyed at  $144^{\circ}$  or  $149^{\circ}$ . Heat is a more powerful agent on wet grains than on dry. The observer will commonly have many eels from grains that have suffered  $138^{\circ}$  : most part are killed at that degree if the grains are wet.

When freezing water becomes solid, the eels cease to move. Cold  $8^{\circ}$  below 0 does not destroy

stroy the resurgent property, and life returns on melting of the ice.

Those who have never seen the eels of blighted corn will find them designed, fig. 3. 4. 5. Pl. 4. as they swim in the fluid before a magnifier not very powerful. Seven blighted grains are represented of their natural size and figure, fig. 6. and three magnified, fig. 7.

Plants are beings so analogous to animals, that he may be excused who has defined them *rooted animals*. In the works of Vallisneri, Buffon, Bonnet, and, lastly, of the Abbé Corti, may be seen the numerous and various traits of analogy between these two classes of organised beings. The subject of which we treat presents a new analogy: for as different animals revive after death, so do many plants spring again after they have perished. It would be departing from my plan was I to say as much of them as I have said of animals: and I shall be content with mentioning two, the *noftoc* and *tremella*. The *noftoc*, so named by Paracelsus, is a terrestrial plant, whose sudden appearance in places where there was no sign of it before was considered by the ancients rather as a prodigy of heaven or earth than as a plant. Thus they denominated it *Heaven's flower and Earth's flower*. It is seen in all seasons, but particularly in summer, after heavy rains. Though it springs in every soil, it prefers meadows

meadows, arid lands, and sandy valleys. The colour is a brownish green; the figure irregular, and resembling a leaf carelessly folded. When separated with the fingers, some resistance is felt, such as one feels on tearing a young leaf. If a sudden drought happens, the nostoc contracts and dries, remaining only a shrivelled fine thin skin. If a sudden and heavy rain falls, it again becomes green, and resumes its original size. Therefore the nostoc, as Reaumur, who has furnished me with this intelligence, observes, is a plant of a singular kind, since it recovers life after being in a state which to others would be permanent death (1).

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(1) I have never been able to find the *tremella nostoc*; but I have made a few experiments on some plants of the same genus. There is one, of a beautiful yellow, which in damp or wet weather appears on decayed wood. The largest, when in full vigour, that I have met with, is about an inch and a quarter long, and about an inch high, of an irregular figure. I believe it is the *tremella dilequesens*. When allowed to dry, it becomes of a deep brown colour, not an eighth of an inch in size, and very hard. By wetting it, the full size and figure are re-acquired. It may be repeatedly dried and moistened without injury. I think it is longer of expanding and of the expansion being complete according to the period of desiccation and the number

ber

The same privilege is possessed by the tremella, which is an aquatic plant, placed by botanists in the class *Conservæ* (1). If it chance to be in a vessel where the water fails, it dries and loses its verdure; but water being supplied, it soon recovers its original state. Nature does the same as art. I have seen, from the beginning of July till

the end of the year, a number of revivals; but this fact merits farther investigation. After eighty days deficcation, it immediately revived.

—T.

(1) Naturalists have lately disputed much concerning the nature of *Conservæ*. By chemical analysis, they give products chiefly peculiar to the vegetable kingdom: 1. They give out an acid, and a small quantity of ammoniac, combined with pyromucous acid; 2. They contain muriat and carbonat of potash; and, although soda may be found in them, we know that it is also found in many vegetables; 3. The quantity of ashes is rather an indication of their vegetable nature. This analysis was made by Vauquelin, who concluded from it that *conservæ* had a greater relation to the vegetable than the animal kingdom. M. Decandolle has compared the sentiments and discoveries of modern naturalists on the subject; and, in a judicious memoir, he thinks *Conservæ* are neither intermediate beings between animals and vegetables, polypi, nor *polypiers*; neither are they aggregates of animalcula, but real vegetables, analogous to tremella, *faci*, and lichens. *Rapport sur les Conservæ*, Journal de Physique, tom. 54. p. 421.

till the end of October, a ditch for watering land covered fifty times with the beautiful verdure of the tremella, and seen it as often disappear, when there was no water. Colourless hairs or wool only were visible at the sides and the bottom, which, the microscope shewed me, consisted of the tremella dry and dead.

What can be the reason why these animals and plants are thus privileged, in comparison to many others which, perishing once, perish for ever?—Shall we perhaps ascribe it to the simplicity of their structure? But this opinion or conjecture does not seem well founded. There are many animals that never revive, whose structure is as simple, or even more so, than that of the resurgent animals. Are not many infusion animalcula, which are composed of a simple aggregate of vesicles, undoubtedly less complex than wheel animals, which are provided with vessels, wheels, intestines, and ovaries? Yet they do not recover life when once it is lost. Simplicity of structure would even seem an obstacle to their resurrection; for the simple membrane of several species bursts on evaporation of the water: the animal is dispersed, and reduced to an unconnected and disordered heap of fragments.

The arm-polypus is no less simple than the animalcula of infusions, being composed but of a granulated gelatinous skin. If simplicity of struc-

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ture



ture influenced the resurrection of animals, the arm-polypus would certainly be one; and it seems so much the better adapted for resurrection, as it continues alive notwithstanding every method has been taken to destroy animation. It is demonstrated, that these polypi sustain no injury by being turned several times outside in, like a glove, or by being cut asunder. If the head is cut off, a sort of hydra with many heads arises, each of which receives food by a different mouth. If these new heads are cut off, new hydras spring up; and each head creates a polypus fit for the formation of more hydras. In short, every particle, even the smallest fragment of a polypus, unfolds and becomes a new polypus. If an animal so mangled and lacerated does not die, will it not be very credible that, only being allowed to remain dry, it may still retain the faculty of resurrection? But facts prove the reverse. The arm-polypus always dies when the water evaporates; and this happens equally whether it is immediately exposed to the air, or lies concealed among its native sub-aquatic herbs. When the water is almost exhausted, the arms are retracted into the animal; it contracts within itself, and dies. It never recovers, though water is copiously supplied. I speak of the arm-polypus, for it is the only species I have been able to find, and is the smallest of Trembley's arm-polypi.

After

Next to polypi and infusion animalcula, according to my description, the organization of the sloth seems to be the most simple. We may say the same of the *anguillæ* of tiles and blighted corn, two species of *serpentuli*, which may properly be classed with so great a number of the inhabitants of fluids from their organization. Under the *tremella* in water are often found minute eels very like those of tiles in size, shape, and simplicity of organization. I have frequently had the curiosity to let them dry, by the water evaporating: all endeavoured to conceal themselves where the filaments of the *tremella* were thickest; and, when evaporation was complete, they perished, remaining partly entwined among the filaments, and partly heaped above one another. If immediately wet, they revive; but never, if a few minutes elapse.

The eels of vinegar give the strongest evidence of vigour. Though they continue motionless when the fluid fails, and are apparently dead, they recover life and action, if wet, after a quarter of an hour. Sometimes I have succeeded in reviving them after half an hour. I do not call this resurrection: if it was such, I cannot see why it should not succeed anew when wet with vinegar, in even a longer time. We may rather say, they do not die so soon as the eels of the *tremella*, and many other insects left dry:

M 3

life,

life, though suspended, is preserved, and appears on humectation.

I can discover no greater simplicity in the tremella and nostoc than in many plants that do not revive. Let us throw a hasty glance on the truffle. What vegetable is more simple? No roots, tendrils, or fibres, internal or external; a substance equally compact and uniform throughout, only interrupted by veins similar to those winding on some species of marble. It has no analogous organization with other plants, either terrestrial or aquatic; yet truffles, after once drying in the air, do not revive if put in water.

These united facts prove the fallacy of those opinions which attribute the resurrection of animals to the simplicity of their organization. But to what other principle can we recur? for we are here constrained to proceed on conjecture rather than evidence and the view of truth. I shall suggest an hypothesis without engaging to support it. Haller's experiments demonstrate, that the vital principle of animals with a heart originally resides in the irritability of this muscle. His experiments are too well known to need repetition. In animals which have no heart, it is more than probable that the principle of life resides in the irritability of their muscles. This being admitted, if the state of the animals is such that the irritable nature of the heart and muscles is destroyed,

stroyed, so as to leave no hope of reparation, it is clear that the animal not only dies, but must always remain dead : if the irritability is such that it may be re-excited, either naturally or by art, it is indubitable that the animal will pass from death to life. It will not signify though it remains dead a long time, even for an age. The reader comprehends my idea. When wheel animals, sloths, and the eels of tiles are deprived of water, their irritability is evidently lost, and they die. Other animals, having once lost this irritability, never recover it ; but it is awakened in wheel animals, sloths, and eels, and they return to their original life by humectation.

From the same principle, may we explain why in certain cases these animals lose the resurgent property when exposed to powerful heat or penetrating odours, or when some liquids and electricity act upon them. Such agents injure the muscular structure, as appears by the rupture of the body and destruction of the irritable power residing in it. This perhaps is the reason why frequent humectations prejudice resuscitant animals ; for I have really seen it ; and in particular observed, that the members of the eels of blighted corn were injured and lacerated by repeated humectation.

We must conclude from the whole, that as irritability resides in the glutinous part of the

muscle, this part of resurgent animals has qualities very different from the irritable parts of other animals, though we are profoundly ignorant of what constitutes the difference, because we are profoundly ignorant of what the gluten consists.

I wish to be sincere. A conclusion against the hypothesis may be deduced from my experiments. Irritability is recognised by its appearance, that is, on touching the muscular fibre with any stimulant, it contracts and becomes rigid. I have often stimulated the muscular substance of the eels of blighted corn and tiles, with an extremely fine iron point, and attentively observed the consequence. The muscular fibre always seemed to contract a little when touched; but I must acknowledge the same thing happened to the *anguillæ* of vinegar, and to other analogous animalcula, which do not enjoy the privilege of resurrection. There are even some aquatic and terrestrial vermiculi more irritable than the eels, since with the most gentle touch they contract and swell, until they become many times as thick and short. The objection is therefore confined to this: there are some animalcula which do not revive, though as irritable, even more so than those that do. But it does not affect my hypothesis, for the principle of resurrection is not placed in the greatest and most perfect irritability.

ty, but in an irritability which, after cessation, may be renewed by means of certain circumstances, though it otherwise appears to be less active than in other animals.

If this hypothesis does not seem fully applicable to plants, in what concerns their irritability, since we know only a very small number possessing that property, still it may be applied to what respects their organization. Dried plants in general do not recover life, probably because they are so much injured in drying as to become incapable of imbibing the juices provided, and converting them into their own substance. Thence do they perish, and are totally destroyed. If such disorder is not occasioned by drying, and the organic action of plants revives when they are softened, and resume their original form, it is undoubted that they will then recover their pristine verdure and natural freshness. This may be the physical cause why the tremella, nostoc, and some other vegetables revive.

This tract may be terminated with some reflections on those beings which we can kill and bring to life at pleasure. When presented to the mind we are astonished, because they are isolated beings: they form a separate class, and the ideas they suggest are adverse to those received of the animated world. But when it is proved by a series of innumerable facts, that all is gradated in nature,

nature, that these beings are connected with other beings, consequently that the isolations exist only in the general system, wonder should cease, or at least be diminished, since it only arises from our ignorance of the relations that connect the classes enjoying the privilege of resurrection with those that do not. This is not the only isolated fact which has existed, and at first been considered an exception to general laws. The works of Reaumur, Trembley, Bonnet, will communicate many. The exceptions appeared singular, because they were seen but in one instance. A plant, an animal of a new genus, or possessing peculiar properties, is the origin of such exceptions, till farther observation and solid experiment proves them adapted to several cases, either in the same circumstances, or under modifications, and proportioned as human industry has been applied to diversify the number of subjects, and render them so numerous, that they can no longer be called exceptions. The surprise that affects the mind from something new or extraordinary gradually diminishes and vanishes entirely. One or two examples will corroborate and elucidate these reflections on **resurgent animals.**

One of the most effectual methods to destroy animals is to cut them in pieces : nothing is more common or better known. To say this is a mode of

of multiplying some species is affirming what has a fabulous appearance. Yet it is certainly the case with the arm-polypus; and shall we admit that the discovery is bounded by this animal? The scalpel need only be applied to others, to prove that the fact is wonderfully extensive. Thence are the reproductions of the earth worm, the boat worm, the fresh water worm, some leeches, sea stars, and nettles. While art effects prodigies on these species, nature prepares similar ones in silence. I speak of propagation by the natural division of the dart millepede, many races of club, funnel, and bell polypi, and infinite infusion animalcula. It is also found that nature sometimes forms not only two from a single animal, but even four, nay, a multitude so prodigious, that as many arise as there were atoms in the generating animal. The polypus does not terminate the wonderful progress of discovery. It is a chain passing from vegetables to animals, and leads to man. The tremella is the link connecting animals and vegetables; it is a real zoophyte. It has been discovered that the filaments of which it is composed divide spontaneously, and that a complete plant springs from each division (1). The polypus is joined to the tremella,

(1) *Adanson, Fontana, Corti, Desaussure*, and other philosophers, have discovered that certain species of tremella



tremella, and is united to many races that divide like itself, which in a similar manner are linked to other species. Reproductions are not effected in the same way in all. One may reduce a polypus, a fresh water worm, a sea star, or nettle, to the smallest fragments, and be certain that each particle will reproduce itself. The earth and boat worm must not be cut in pieces so small when we wish to obtain reproduction. If a snail is decollated, a new head will germinate, but the severed head will not acquire a body. Water newts and frogs, while tadpoles, recover their tails and limbs when deprived of them; but if mutilated in other parts of the body, they perish (2). No warm blooded animal is yet known which reproduces itself when cut in pieces, but animals recover large pieces cut away. Duhamel has seen a ring of flesh cut to the bone reproduced in a chicken. Similar reparations are every day observed in the cicatrised wounds of men and animals: and we have certain evidence of the reparation of the

have a real progressive motion. From this some naturalists suppose that it is endowed with animality, or constitutes a link which connects the animal and vegetable kingdoms, though properly belonging to neither. Other naturalists think these species are real vegetables, but that their motion or progression is owing to some mechanical means.—T.

(2) *Prodromo sopra le Riproduzioni Animali.*

the tibia in a man (1). It is thus that the discovery of the polypus, which at first seemed to revolt against rules esteemed general, has extended to so many links in the animal chain. But has this success so great, this advance so rapid, exhausted the subject of reproduction? No, assuredly: it will appear but little known, if we consider how limited the number of animals on which our experiments have been made, compared with those on which we may make them. The element water is most favourable to reproductions. How many insects, worms, reptiles, zoophytes inhabit the briny waters of the ocean, the fresh water of rivers, pools, marshes, and ditches, which were never subjected to experiment, and which, from their great similarity, whether in the modes of life and propagation, or in shape and internal configuration with reproducing animals, are doubtless calculated to reproduce their parts?

Hermaphroditism, until the beginning of this age, has been considered more chimerical than true. Nature seemed to declare against it. Yet in how many hundred animals has it not been found by the diligence of modern naturalists? This admirable property passes by degrees from one species to another. The polypus is a perfect hermaphrodite

(1) The celebrated Bernard Moscati, surgeon in Milan, who was an eye witness, told me this fact.

hermaphrodite without sex : it multiplies both by division and shoots. The puceron of plants is less an hermaphrodite ; it has a sexual distinction ; and although it propagates without copulation during summer, at the end of autumn it is observed to copulate. Earth worms, shell snails, naked snails and many species of shell fish are less hermaphrodites : each is at the same time male and female, but insufficient alone for generation. They give and receive ; they fertilize and are fecundated.

The discovery of resurgent animals is far from being as extensive as that of reproduction or hermaphroditism ; but this arises less from the scarcity of such beings than the rareness of the philosophers who have entered on this branch of natural philosophy. Leeuwenhoeck was the first who, by his reviving wheel animal, drew the curtain from before these objects : and seems surpris'd at a fact which was unique and unexampled in nature : and, indeed, no one thought there was another creature in all the animated world possessed of this prodigy. But since the profound research of more modern naturalists has discovered others, I doubt not that the number of these wonderful beings will increase as the study is cultivated.

The same gradations perceptible in hermaphrodites and in reproducing animals cannot be expected in the resuscitant. There may be a greater or less

less degree of reproduction : an animal may reproduce more or fewer organs : and an animal may be more or less an hermaphrodite, if hermaphroditism is taken in a comprehensive sense. Both these cases are possible, and, as we have seen, are realised by facts. But we cannot reason thus on the animals reviving after death ; we cannot say an animal dies more or less, or that its resurrection is more or less. Death and resurrection are two indivisible acts, so much, that neither has any gradation in the animals hitherto known ; and it cannot be expected in those we shall hereafter discover. It is not that these animals have no particular gradations among themselves, or are not connected by them with others of the same kind : nor are they difficult to be observed. We have seen the state to which some animals are reduced by cold : it cannot properly be called death, for there is a thread of life, a lesser life, which may connect them with resurgent animals. The verdure of most plants is lost in winter : they have little sap, and it is motionless : they cease to imbibe nutriment, to grow, to multiply : thence are they in perfect inaction. Besides insects, how many animals do we see with this least degree of life, not excepting some warm blooded, and among them birds ? I am far from coinciding with Guaguin in this description of Muscovy : ‘ *Populos quosdam in Lucomoniam Regione* ‘ *Russiar*

‘*Russiæ habitantes quotannis vigesima septima Novembris die, ut solent hirundines, et rana, sic et ipsos præ frigoris hyemalis magnitudine mori: postea reditunte vere vigesima quarta Aprilis die denuo reviviscere.*’ At the same time, we cannot deny that man himself may sometimes be in a similar situation with animals overcome by cold, as when he has been immersed in water, without entirely ceasing to live. I will not affirm with some philosophers, because there is neither pulsation nor respiration evident in the body, that pulsation of the heart and circulation of the fluids are suspended; but I would rather think with Haller, that these motions are only too faint and obscure to be externally perceptible. Examples of this we have in some animals half drowned, where a degree of motion is always sensible in the heart and in the blood. The life of man and animals half drowned cannot be more feeble; and we may regard it as another point in the passage from the resuscitant to those animals which do not revive.

There are other two states very similar to the death of resurgent animals. One is the state of the embryo in a fecundated egg before it has experienced the heat necessary for expansion: life is incomplete: there are but the rudiments of life. The other is the state of a chrysalis among insects. When the caterpillar has lost its natural form,

form, it assumes that of a shapeless mass, without the vestige of feet or wings: it ceases to feed; indeed to eat would be impossible, for the organs are wanting: it has no longer loco-motion; and we should really believe it dead, but for some inflection and contortion of which the posterior part is susceptible. Apparent death is still more sensible in the nymphs of many worms; no stimulus can awaken any symptom of life or sensation.

Thus there are situations in nature somewhat similar to the state of dry resurgent animals: and these situations may be protracted or abridged at pleasure the same as with resurgent animals. That torpid animals may never awaken from their lethargy; that the embryo may never expand in the egg; that flies and butterflies may never proceed from the nymphs and chrysalids, nothing is requisite but to keep them continually exposed to cold. The reverse will happen on exposure to heat. Probably there are gradations of connection more immediate and more direct between the animals that revive and those that do not. Life, however feeble and obscure, is always life: between it and death there is a distance as great as between existence and non-entity. An animal, whose life might be suspended from an impediment to the mutual action of the solids and the fluids, would be the link connecting the least

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degree of life with death. Such an animal is yet unknown : but we should not despair of finding it, since so many are discovered which connect and more intimately unite the animated chain. Let us only reflect, that natural history is yet in its infancy, and that our discoveries are nothing, compared with what we have yet to discover.











## OBSERVATIONS AND EXPERIMENTS

ON

THE ORIGIN OF THE PLANTULÆ OF MOULD.

THE mould, which I have examined, and intend simply and briefly to describe, springs on moistened bread, apples, pears, melons, or gourds, beginning to spoil. It may be divided into two kinds, the one very simple and easy to be observed: the other complex and intricate, which can only be understood by a generic description. Let us begin with the former.

One species is without branches, and each filament bears a globule at the summit, pl. 5. fig. 3. another is ramose, but with this difference, that some plants have a globule at the vertex, while others have none, fig. 2. These globules shall always be termed the minute heads of mould;

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but with respect to them there is a remark necessary. Without the microscope, we should suppose them perfectly spherical, and even with it they appear so if viewed from above; but when examined below, that is where the stalk is inserted into the head, we observe that all, or the greater number, are shaped like mushrooms, or, to speak more philosophically, they are real mushrooms. Two filaments, with globules, are represented, fig. 7. and highly magnified, fig. 8. A kind of mould sometimes grows on pears, which is actually a shrub in miniature, universally adorned with spherical heads and mushrooms, fig. 6.

Ramous mould is often attached to vegetable substances without the aid of roots; but mould wanting branches almost always has roots originating from a round corpuscle, from which the filaments or stalks of mould arise. It is singular, that in proportion as every root gives origin to a greater number of stalks, so are the filaments it sends forth below more numerous in proportion. A degree of resistance is felt on tearing mould from the substance where it springs, which is the consequence of the roots being well fixed. When torn up, they appear very crooked, while the stalks, that have not suffered from the impressions of the air, are perfectly straight. Many of these are of an equal thickness throughout, and become a little smaller towards

wards the top. The description will, perhaps, be better understood by fig. 3.

Mould is at first of a most beautiful white; it next acquires a yellowish tint, and at last blackens; however, the heads grow much blacker than the stalks and branches. The origin and increase of mould is nearly in proportion to the heat of the atmosphere; its appearance and vegetation are never more sudden than during the heats of summer. A substance which does not exhibit a single stalk of mould at night, will often be covered in the morning by mould, which has then attained its full size and maturity (1). It does not increase so much in height as in thickness, and the heads, already black, are always of larger size than when they were young and white.

Mould never rises so beautiful and vigorous as when vegetating under some vessel or receiver, providing the communication with the external and internal air remains. The reason is evident.

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(1) Bradley remarks that the seed of mould has vegetated in three hours, and in about six more, the plant had attained its perfect size, *Philosophical Transactions*, 1729, p. 491. However, some mould takes much longer time. Nay, it is often very long before mould is produced on a substance, either from absence of the seeds, or the substance not being well adapted for its vegetation.—T.

The stalks being very fine near the summit, and bearing on the vertex a round corpusculum, which oscillates the filament by its own weight, as the ear of corn occasions oscillation of the stalk, we may easily perceive that every breath of air, however gentle, will bend, break, and destroy their most delicate texture, which does not ensue when the moulding substances are put under a receiver. Besides, their humidity is better preserved, a condition most essential for the production and increase of mould. In the course of these observations, I have always used receivers. The prejudicial consequences of agitated air are visible, fig. 1. which represents two spots of mould with heads, viewed with the naked eye when taken from under the receiver, and exposed a short time to the action of the air; their natural direction is lost, and the stalks bend in various directions.

Some substances, put in a situation to acquire mould, gradually dissolve into a kind of acid fluid, wetting the circumjacent parts; it is precisely here that the mould hitherto mentioned springs. A smaller portion of moisture likewise exhales from the same substance, which adheres to the inside of the receiver, in the form of a pellucid aqueous veil, and increases so considerably as to form large drops that run down the sides of the receiver in winding streams: an equal quantity

ity of mould grows on these streams, as may be observed if the glass receivers are transparent.

But the other kind of mould, which in the beginning we have said is very complicated, always springs on the immediate substance of the vegetable itself, and particularly prefers gourds and moistened bread. When these begin to acidify and corrupt, a thick white covering of mould appears on the surface, which in a few hours is an inch high, and, when ripe, three inches or more. This is different from the last species, which, at complete maturity, is scarcely half an inch high. We have already observed, that each plant may be examined separately, and without confusion, and that the examination may be distinctly continued until maturity; but it is otherwise with the mould before us; for it is impossible to examine each plant distinct and separate. The immense number of them when the mould begins to spring, the interlacing of the stalks and branches which entangle and interweave in a hundred different ways, is a complete obstacle to it: the eye is absolutely confounded, vision is confused, and can only distinguish an intricate assemblage of slender filaments, which, as vegetation advances, become more and more deranged, therefore a general description of the whole together must be given. The stalks, torn from the substance where they spring, seem to have no

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roots.



roots. Numerous twigs and branches proceed from each, which are frequently of as great diameter as the parent stalks whence they originate. While the stalks successively vegetate and extend, several groups of smaller branches spring out laterally, with minute heads at the vertex. These are partly fungi-form, partly globular, and, as the stalks rise, they blacken and come to maturity. Additional new stalks next appear; and multiplication continues so long as the mould vegetates. This little forest of filaments is terminated by most minute points, and wholly covered with black globules.

Thus does mould originate and arrive at maturity. We need not inquire whether it is a real vegetable: it evidently is such, by the observations I relate. But these vegetables, or microscopic plants, do not possess two properties common to other plants. Ligneous and herbaceous plants, exposed to natural light, always tend to take a direction perpendicular to the horizon. They endeavour to attain it when an impediment intervenes. The experiments of M. Bonnet are excellent, as may be seen in his work *Sur l'usage des Feuilles*. But we do not see this tendency to perpendicularity in mould; for, although many stalks are perpendicular, it is not essential to their nature, and innumerable others are in a different direction. If a plant grows in the rent of a wall, though it first  
appears

appears in a horizontal position, it soon rises perpendicularly, and so continues to grow. It is otherwise with mould. I have often cut a piece of melon, gourd, or bread, into a cube : mould vegetated on the four lateral surfaces, and the stalks had constantly every other than a perpendicular direction (1).

The other property, which was discovered by the celebrated Genevese naturalist, is the tendency of plants to turn towards the light. In addition to the facts he recites, which are sufficient to ascertain the property, I have frequently observed it in legumes growing in infusions, shut up in a press : the plants always bent towards a chink that admitted a slender ray of light ; and if this chink was stopped up, and a new one opened in a different part of the press, the plants abandoned their original direction for this new one. I could never discover that light had the least influence on mould.

If ripe mould is shaken, a kind of black dust falls from it, which the celebrated botanist Micheli has supposed the seed of the plantula ; but the

(1) This may generally happen ; but I have, in many instances, seen an evident tendency to perpendicularity, and vegetation in a straight line. Deviation from it may perhaps be chiefly occasioned by the extreme delicacy of the stalk.—T.

the elder Dr Monti, also a very eminent botanist, has called the truth of his opinion in question, and rather inclines to think that mould springs by spontaneous generation. Before discussing this matter, which is so interesting, it is proper to examine where the dust is found, which renders it necessary to make a brief analysis of the heads of mould, which can only be done by seeing it ripen. Before maturity, the heads are of a whitish and yellowish colour, the surface very smooth, and they are firmly attached to the stalk. Broken with a fine needle, they seem membranaceous, and full of a granulated substance. If, instead of being broke, they burst, a number of most minute round seeds sometimes come out: these are found both in the spherical and fungiform heads. When they blacken, the appearance changes; the surface seems unequal; it is lacerated in several places, and resembles a parcel of black rags. Many seeds are seen when opened; but young mould has white seed, and old or ripe mould has black. By letting a drop of water fall on the heads, the seeds are seen more distinctly and in greater abundance. On contact with the fluid, or a little afterwards, the heads burst and scatter a cloud of seeds around; so that I may affirm, without danger of exaggeration, a thousand are in each head. The unripe heads do not open in this manner when wet; they remain

main entire; and it must be remarked, that the ripe ones are not altogether decomposed. Both in the round and fungiform is a little head in the centre, which continues adhering to the stalk; it is cinder-coloured, and does not appear black like the exterior. It is difficult to be detached from the stalk, but, with gentle pressure, a small jet of seeds, resembling those I have described, is raised; after which, the central head becomes a dry, empty skin.

If the heads, black and ripe, are opened by means of water, quantities of seed so great escape, that they adhere to the plants, and the stalks particularly, in such a manner that one would suppose the exterior composed of seeds alone, were they not previously seen in a different state. The deceitful appearance of two plants in this state is represented fig. 9. One is completely covered with seed; the head is magnified, and great part of it also covered. Three stalks are represented fig. 4. The whole seeds of one head are exposed; another head is partly covered by the integument; and the third wholly so.

A quantity of this dust constitutes the powder which blackens the hands when mould is touched; and it is considered real seed, by the celebrated Florentine botanist. To ascertain the truth, he had recourse to a method apparently decisive, which was sowing the dust. He strew-

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ed it on some vegetable substances, and saw them covered with mould. But the Bolognese Professor repeated Micheli's experiment without finding it so conclusive; the vegetable substances being equally covered, though no dust was put upon them. Thus the question was undecided, for I do not know that any other person has attempted to solve it. Perhaps I shall be taxed with presumption for saying, that, by means of experiments analogous to those of Micheli, it has been in my power to ascertain the fact, but experiments much more numerous, diversified and connected, which I must be permitted to narrate.

Two pieces of moistened bread were taken, as similar to each other as possible, and from the same loaf, so as to be perfectly equal; and I endeavoured to attain the same equality in all the rest of my experiments. One piece was strewed with dust, taken from a quantity of ripe mould heads, in such a manner that the surface was faintly blackened: the other was untouched, on purpose to compare the production upon each. This was done in summer. Next day, the *sown substance*,—but, for brevity it may be observed, that by this is meant the substance of whatever nature covered with dust; and by *unsown*, the other vegetable substance not covered,—on the sown substance, I say, a shade of mould appeared, whereas on the unsown was none. Before the

the third day, both were covered with mould; but that on the sown substance was almost double the height and thickness of the mould on the other. Both species were the same, and perfectly similar to what had produced the dust. On the fourth day, the mould of the unsown substance, though not so thick, was equal to the other in height; it was even higher the following day, but afterwards continued to become thinner. These experiments were repeated eleven times on moistened bread: twice the mould became equally high and thick on both substances, and nine times it was higher on the unsown one, but thinner. It constantly sprung first on the sown substance.

Having collected a great quantity of ripe dust, I thought of varying the portions scattered on moistened bread. The consequences were new: When the quantity of dust was very small, there was almost no difference in the height and thickness of the mould on either substance sown or unsown; however, the thickness increased by sowing a greater quantity; and it was never so thick as when liberally strewed over the bread: then the mould was a real covering; but in proportion as the thickness augmented, the height diminished. The experiments were repeated again and again on apples, pears, and gourds; and

and all the results were, to a certain degree, more or less similar to what are related.

We may, in the first place, deduce, that sowing the dust accelerates the production of mould; secondly, The thickness is increased; thirdly, The height is less. Considering these facts with respect to my object, it seems that the second proves the dust to be the real seed of the mould; for more abundant production arises from scattering it. If the thickness increases in proportion as the quantity sown is augmented, it is natural to suppose the superabundance of mould on sown substances an effect of the dust, or rather of the minute seeds sown; and that all or most part of the mould originates from them. This being the case, we cannot be surprised if mould on sown substances is not so high as upon unsown; for, the plants being more numerous, each can not imbibe the same nutriment from it as may be derived from that which is unsown, where there are fewer. The same also succeeds with other plants, which are smaller and shorter in proportion as they are more crowded together. The first consequence deduced from these facts demonstrates, that the production of sown mould is earlier than that of unsown. I have thought it might be because the substances spoil sooner; since it appears that, by means of the dust, they sooner contract that principle of acidity and putrefaction, on which,

which, as we have already remarked, the origin of mould depends.

The experiments were diversified. Sometimes I covered a half, sometimes two thirds, or one, of a slice of bread, an apple, a pear, or a gourd, without touching the other half. The half, two thirds, or one third, were just in the condition of the sown substances. I likewise made another experiment. After covering half a slice of bread, apple, or gourd, with dust, the surface sown was applied to another surface similar but unsown, and both left in this state several days. On the whole sown surface a veil of mould appeared, the vegetation of which had ceased, because it was spoiled by the substance applied : but no vestige of mould was seen on the unsown part. Thus the hypothesis is corroborated, that the dust is the real seed of the mould, because that produced on the places sown was exactly of the same species with what had afforded the dust.

Notwithstanding all these plausible and repeated experiments, I was not satisfied. Is it not possible, said I to myself, that this dust only renders the soil more fertile, so that it will produce a greater quantity of mould, as the earth fertilized by foreign matter will produce more plants? Certainly it was not impossible ; and, wishing to proceed with philosophic strictness, I judged myself obliged to realize or remove the possibility :  
for



for which purpose it was proper to cover moulding substances with dust taken from different vegetables, different earths, and other matter volatile from extreme minuteness. It seemed, if the other dust could contribute to render substances more fit for producing mould, that it alone did not possess this property. The roots, stalks, and heads of mould, still unripe, were not spared. They were dried, and reduced to fine powder, but without effect. For the most part, instead of the usual quantity of mould appearing, they deprived the sown substances of the power of producing it; and that powder, which did not prevent the production, diminished the quantity of what the unsown substances used to produce. All these united facts seemed to prove, that the granuli, proceeding from ripe mould heads, are real vegetable seeds.

During the course of my experiments, I was curious to learn whether the seed would germinate when sown on substances that naturally did not mould. A quantity was sown on hard bodies, as glass, metals, stones, also on blot sheet, writing paper, cotton, sponge, and the like. All the substances were kept moist: but no traces appeared except some filaments, which were perceptible on sponge. Certain circumstances are requisite for the expansion of the seeds, and these are found only in particular substances.

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The minute seeds or dust of mould possess the peculiarity of resisting a degree of heat, which no other seeds can support without losing the power of germination. After boiling the seed in water, I poured the water, then become black, on substances apt to mould, and where it usually grows thicker than on substances unmoistened. The same was done with dust exposed to much greater heat; and I have found, that as this heat does not deprive the seeds of the property of reproduction, neither does it alter their size or figure, which examination with the microscope both before and after exposure has demonstrated.

But does that mould, which springs without being sown, and by the care of nature alone, on infinite substances, every where dispersed, also derive its origin from the dust, which we may suppose disseminated through the air and on terrestrial matter? If natural and artificial mould are of the same species, and if the artificial is produced by the dust of the natural mould, I cannot see why the latter should not originate from the same principle, especially since it is demonstrated that no other part of mould, such as roots and stalks, aid the reproduction. The hypothesis, supposing that this dust is invisibly scattered through all, and gives existence to an immensity of natural mould, is one of the most reasonable hypotheses in philosophy. If each ripe head can

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furnish a thousand seeds, and if each spot of mould contains a prodigious number of heads, it is clear that in the course of years the dust should be multiplied to excess, because, from its extraordinary levity and fineness, it may be universally diffused.

We have certain evidence that seeds may be kept a long time without losing the germinating faculty. My illustrious friend, M. Bonnet of Geneva, told me a singular fact; In 1748, corn was carried from Sicily to Geneva, and lodged in the magazines of the Republic. Some individuals sowed part of it in a walled garden, 1771. Notwithstanding the length of time, it vegetated perfectly and nearly as thick as common to grain of the same kind. The wonderful minuteness of the seed of mould seems to adapt it for long preservation; but I have already given a convincing proof of the fact.

Heat is undoubtedly one of the most powerful agents in depriving seed of its germinating faculty. In the tract on infusion animalcula, it has been seen that the number of seeds which can support the heat of boiling water is very small; and although M. Duhamel's singular case is cited, where wheat germinated after experiencing  $235^{\circ}$  in a stove, it is here proved that the seeds of mould are not destroyed by a degree infinitely greater.

greater. Therefore, it is not absurd to suppose that seeds, which resist the injuries of weather, may preserve fecundity for ages. Thus we can easily comprehend how immense the abundance of this vegetable should be, since its seed multiplies so much, is preserved so long, and that it should be so copiously disseminated over all terrestrial substances, as continually to be in readiness for germination, when the requisites essential are present.

The first of Sig. Monti's doubts concerning the production of mould, which led him to think that it originated by spontaneous generation, is resolved. The other doubt which arose from moulding substances acquiring mould after boiling, the same as before it, is equally removed; for if the seed does not lose its germinating faculty from exposure in a hot chafing dish, there is no wonder that it is retained at a degree of heat so far inferior as that of boiling water.

Although the substances for my experiments were constantly kept under receivers, which was done with the view of obtaining more luxuriant and beautiful mould, communication with the external air was uninterrupted. I wished to discover what would succeed on cutting off this communication, but previous to that the consequence of lessening it. Moulding substances were put into very large glass vessels: the necks were then drawn to a point by the blow-pipe; and as the point could

be brought to any degree of fineness, I had vessels into which a stream of air, no larger than a hair, could be admitted, a little more into some, and still more into others. All the inclosed substances moulded in a certain time. But in those with a very small aperture, vegetation was slower; and the mould did not rise so high as when the aperture was larger. The vegetable substances within always perspire so much, that the vapour collects at the apertures, and obstructs them, especially if very small, which may be corrected by sucking out the moisture; however, if this is neglected, mould will not grow, or hardly at all in very small vessels.

My curiosity being satisfied here, I began the other inquiry, which was the effect of excluding the external air entirely, and this was easily accomplished by a hermetical seal. The vessels were of different sizes, some might contain six pounds of water, some only one, and others but a few ounces. This difference affected the mould. In the largest, although equally thick as in open vessels, it never grew so high, and was later of appearing: the mould, in those of a middle size, was shorter, still later, and more rare; its state was worst in the smallest vessels; none appeared in some, and in others, a slight shade was scarcely visible.

Vessels of three different sizes, containing vegetable substances, were hermetically sealed, and  
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put several hours in boiling water. In the smallest was no mould, a little in the middle sized, and plenty in the largest.

To these two experiments I added a third, by putting moulding substances in vacuo; and repeated results proved that, during the time the substances were there, which was always several days, if by any chance a portion of air insinuated itself into the receiver, a quantity of mould appeared which came to maturity, though very short. None ever germinated when the air was quite exhausted. Some plantulæ, produced in a receiver where the vacuum was incomplete, are represented, Plate 5. fig. 5.

These three different experiments ascertain that the plantulæ have the same relation with the air as other plants, but it is apparently less necessary to them; for when a thread of air entered the receivers, some mould vegetated, yet the leguminous seeds within gave no indications of vegetation; neither do seeds vegetate in vessels hermetically sealed, although vegetables will mould there. The simplicity of mould undoubtedly contributes to render the presence of air less essential, in the same way as animals, which are less compound in the scale of organization, may be produced, and exist in a smaller quantity of air than is necessary for us.

M. Bonnet, in his judicious reflections on mould, questions whether we are sure that it all belongs to the vegetable kingdom, or whether there may not be some species that approach the mineral, or, at least, are the link of connection between the two kingdoms, vegetable and mineral. This is not impossible, when we consider the amazing diversity in this class of beings, and how little its species are hitherto known, especially if we consider that fossils approach them by occupying the lowest rank in the order of vegetables.

Besides the mould described, I have not neglected to throw a glance on many different species, and in all I must acknowledge, that characteristics, sufficiently decisive, have been found to judge them real vegetables. But the various kinds observed by me are very few, compared with the immense number yet remaining to be examined; for there is almost no substance, animal or vegetable, which in certain circumstances is not liable to mould. Those who attach themselves to this branch of microscopic botany will have sufficient useful practice, and perhaps may succeed in discovering the link connecting vegetables with minerals, which will render philosophy a most important service. For my own part, I shall be content if, among other things, I have





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have resolved the question concerning the real origin of the most common mould. The subject has not before been completely discussed; and it has led some persons into the ancient and dangerous error of spontaneous generation.



**TRACTS**  
**ON**  
**ANIMAL REPRODUCTION,**  
**BY**  
**THE ABBÉ SPALLANZANI**  
**AND**  
**M. BONNET.**



# RESULT OF EXPERIMENTS

ON THE

REPRODUCTION OF THE HEAD OF THE  
GARDEN SNAIL,

BY

THE ABBÉ LAZARO SPALLANZANI.

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## MEMOIR I.

ARTICLE I.—ANATOMICAL DESCRIPTION OF  
THE HEAD OF THE SNAIL.

**T**HAT the learned and curious reader may the more readily be convinced of this admirable reproduction, it will be most useful to demonstrate, that the parts composing the new regenerated head are not in the least respect different from those of the old one cut off. But we are unable to accomplish this, until with the aid of anatomy, we become acquainted with the parts constituting the head

head of the snail, which are much more numerous and complicated than at first sight could be credited. (1).

When one of these reptiles (2) extends as far as possible from the shell, it exhibits the whole neck and head. From the anterior part of the latter proceed the four horns, that is, the two larger above and the two smaller below. When completely elongated, each terminates in a globe; but in the larger is a black point, generally thought to be the eye. Immediately below the smaller horns, the lips appear; and when they open, while the animal feeds, the teeth are seen. All these parts, as well as the neck, are covered with minute glandular granuli, somewhat similar to those of a strawberry, or like *shagreen*. But this shagreen on the horns and lips is finer than

(1) This Memoir is extracted from my work on *Animal Reproductions*, which would have been published before now, if some engravings essentially necessary for understanding it had been completed.

(2) The Linnean gentlemen will pardon me for not being disposed to class snails with worms, as their respectable master does. This is not the place to shew how little that opinion corresponds with nature. It will more properly fall within the limits of my work, when complete, where, among other things, will be a discussion whether the modern theorists and nomenclators have been the most useful to natural history.

than on the head and neck. The under part of the snail is not shagreened ; on the contrary, it is very smooth and slippery. Some naturalists call it the foot, and not improperly, from supporting the animal in its progression. This is all that the eye can perceive : we are obliged to use the scalpel for penetrating the interior of the head, which is the object of our research. A snail cannot be dissected alive ; however much it is extended, it contracts entirely at the slightest touch, and, retiring precipitately into its dwelling, lies in concealment there. On breaking the shell for examination, the head and horns are found retracted in such a manner within the body, as renders it extremely difficult to make observations on them conveniently. The easiest method to follow is that proposed by the great Swammerdam, in his excellent treatise on snails, which is killing them slowly in water : then they almost always remain with the head and neck extended from the shell, and the horns protruded. In such an advantageous situation, when the skin of the head is longitudinally divided with fine sharp scissars, there immediately appears the brain divided into two lobes ; from the under part of which originates the medulla oblongata, and from above, the nerves : four are inserted in the four horns, and extend to the extremities ; the other six divergiate to different parts of the body, as  
the



the muscles of the skin, the mouth, throat, and palate.

As far as I know, Swammendam was the first who observed that the brain of the snail is moveable, and that its mobility arises from some muscles to which it is attached. By means of these it is drawn towards the fore part of the head, or is extended, according to the different motions of the body. When the animal stretches considerably from its shell, the brain is commonly situated above the oesophagus.

It has already been observed, that the black point at the extremity of the horns is commonly thought the eye; and such an opinion seems very reasonable. Indeed the singular ability of the often named Dutch naturalist, and the assistance of powerful magnifiers, was able to discover the principal parts that characterize the organ of vision; the uvea, the three humours, and the arachnoid, investing the chrystalline lens. I have succeeded in sufficiently distinguishing all these parts, except the aqueous and vitreous humours, which it has never been in my power to discern clearly; but this I rather ascribe to my inability in examinations so minute, than to the non-existence of the parts. Of the four nerves, proceeding from the brain to the horns, two, which we shall denominate the *optic*, are attached to the eyes, and enlarge into a kind of gourd or rather

rather pear-shaped figure below. These nerves have muscles, by whose action, at the animal's pleasure, both large and small horns are retracted and concealed in the body; and the eyes, by this means, are also concealed, to be secure from external injury.

On removing the brain, the œsophagus is discovered, which is membranaceous, and furrowed by the finest longitudinal ridges of livid ash colour. The sides are extremely smooth; and it contracts as it gradually approaches the mouth. This opening, by which the snail feeds, is provided above with a palate and a callous jaw, to which is firmly fixed a tooth of a corneous substance, chestnut coloured and shaped like a crescent, terminated by some sharp prominent points, which form, in a certain manner, so many most minute teeth, though, properly speaking, the animal has only one; and this is therefore the snail's only tooth. In the lower part of the mouth is the tongue, provided with a small kind of corneous substance at the extremity; and the root is fixed in a hollow semicircular cartilage. These are the chief parts of the head, omitting a number of muscles moving them: and as the description of these does not seem important, I shall neglect it altogether, without committing any fault by the omission.

ARTICLE II.—REPRODUCTION OF THE HORNS,  
OR ANTENNÆ.

WHEN I first discovered that snails regenerated the horns and severed head, several philosophers enquired what motives or reasons induced me to suppose these parts could be reproduced: and it is not improbable that the same question may occur to some of my learned readers, to whom I shall briefly answer, as I have hitherto done. Previous to engaging with the reproductions of snails, I was employed with those of earth worms, concerning which there is a chapter in my *Prodromo sopra le Reproduzioni Animali*, and often had occasion to observe how much the reproduction was promoted, when protected from the injuries of the open air, by remaining covered in moist earth or dung. This very simple remark recalled to my memory the state of snails mutilated in certain parts of the body. I had seen them shut themselves up within their portable dwellings, closing the mouth with that viscous substance which exudes from the body, so that the air could with the greatest difficulty get access. I then reflected, that a mutilated snail, retired within its shell, and shut up with the covering, was in a similar situation to decapitated earth worms deposited in moistened earth. This rendered

rendered me desirous to examine whether the same would happen to snails as to worms; and my experiments began with cutting off the horns, which, every one knows, are an appurtenance of the head.

That the section of the horns may be complete, it is material they should be fully protruded from the head, which ensues when the snail stretches considerably from its shell; the whole four then being extended, they may be cut out by the root. If two are divided,—the larger for instance, the smaller are instantly retracted within the head, and the snail partly withdraws into its shell; but, in general, it soon appears, displaying the smaller horns. Hence, the experimentalist may cut off all four one by one, if he chuses. Though the animal is so mutilated, the head and neck are frequently protruded from the shell the same as when untouched.

A drop, and sometimes a little stream of transparent fluid, tending on cerulean colour, proceeds from the part where the scissars divide the horns: this arises from the rupture of the glandular substances. In examining the head, now deprived of horns, we discover four pointed trunks; the points being occasioned by corrugation and contraction of the root of the horn, where it has been cut. If we turn to the separated horns, which adhere to the scissars, we observe

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that, immediately after division, they swell, because they become considerably shorter. The skin, where divided, either corrugates so much that the plane of section is imperceptible, or it enlarges to cover the optic nerve and muscles moving the horns. The black eye continues visible at the extremity of the larger horns, after division; sometimes, however, it disappears not, but it remains in the separated horn: it is retracted and buried within, as dissection proves.

The parts of several animals, we know, continue to move and live after separation, for a given time. Such is the case with scolopendræ, earth and water worms, cut in pieces; but particularly, the tails of lizards and water newts, which, for some time, will move, bend, and leap about, though cut into several parts. But quite the reverse ensues with an immense number of animals, so that the members, whenever separated from the body, lose all semblance of life and motion. Snails are akin to these. Scarcely are the horns cut off when they become motionless, or are only slightly convulsed for a few seconds. No symptoms of life are afterwards evident, when stimulated with a point.

If the mutilated snails are examined in twenty or twenty-five days, it is not uncommon to find the rudiments of a reproducing horn. But this reproduction is very different from that observed  
in

in other animals : and here is one of those useful illustrations which teach us to distrust analogical reasoning. The famous Reaumur first shewed, that the principle of reproduction, in the limbs of the fresh water cray fish, began with a little cone in the centre of the trunk, whose base was infinitely smaller than that of the trunk, and, by the process of time alone, became equal to it. A similar phenomenon has been observed by the celebrated Bonnet, in his earth and fresh water worms. The same appearances have been exhibited to me by the tadpoles of frogs, and by water newts, in reproducing the tail and limbs (1). The rays of sea stars, whether casually destroyed by the bite of an animal, or cut off by men, protrude a little cone or tongue from the middle of the trunk, which is the expanding germ of the defective portion. And, in my voyage in the Mediterranean, during summer 1781, I saw several stars, that had lost the rays, budding these cones of different sizes ; particularly, the *asterias rubens* of Linnæus ; several of which I preserve in the great Museum of Natural History, in the University of Pavia. But the truncated horn of a snail does not advance in this manner. The trunk itself rounds into a little button of a bluish colour, which becomes larger and the colour darker ; and at the summit, if we speak of the

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larger

(1) Prodromo. Citat.

larger horns, is a prominent black point, which is the eye. The reproduced part continues extending, and, in a short time, the new horn equals in size its unmutilated fellow. In the same manner are the small horns reproduced.

If a half, third, or fourth part is cut off, instead of the whole horn, as has hitherto been supposed, reproduction equally takes place, in the like circumstances as we have mentioned. This is the more common course of nature in reproducing horns: sometimes, however, the trunk becomes long and pointed, instead of round. The point in time enlarges, and forms into a globule; the rest proceeds on as already related.

The snail makes the same use of the new horns as it did of the old, whether by protruding them from the head, extending, contracting, or concealing them, or by displaying their acute and lively sensibility; so that, on the most gentle touch, they are suddenly withdrawn and put in safety.

All these facts seemed to assure me, that the number of parts, constituting the divided part, would be exactly the same in the portion regenerated. But, wishing to ascertain the truth by the most minute anatomical examination, with a very fine iron instrument, I laid open several reproduced horns; however, I could not discover the smallest difference between the new and the old. The same skin, externally shagreened and within  
full

full of glandules, appeared; the same muscles moving the horns; the same nerves proceeding to their extremities, and there enlarging into an oval bulb; in short, the same parts composing the eye: therefore it would have been impossible to distinguish the new horns from the old, if I had not witnessed their origin and increase, and if a slight contraction of the skin had not sometimes remained at the place from whence they began to shoot, or a little projecting eminence which marked the precise spot where the new horn had originated.

A sufficient degree of heat is essential to the success of this reproduction. Temperate is not enough; and the heat must be at least  $61^{\circ}$ . Therefore, in Lombardy, and different parts of Italy, the experiment should be commenced in the beginning of spring. What I say of heat, respecting reparation of the horns, also applies to the head, of which I am about to treat. As the summer then approaches, the horns are quickly repaired. With regard to the time requisite for complete reproduction, two months in general suffice for whatever part of the horns is to be regenerated. It may also be remarked, that although the reproduction seldom fails, I have sometimes been unable to obtain it, notwithstanding the mutilated snails were kept whole years.



## ARTICLE III.—HALF THE HEAD REPRODUCED.

WE have seen that the constituent parts of the snail's head are a shagreen skin, two lips and two mandibles, with a lunar tooth fixed in the upper one: the tongue inserted into a semilunar cartilage, part of an œsophagus; the brain divided into two lobes, and sending forth ten nerves, besides four horns of different sizes. These practical remarks, however, are sufficient to ascertain that our experiments, on the decapitation of these reptiles, have been correctly executed. If all the various parts formed a head similar to that of most insects, I mean of a globular figure, or were comprehended in a part easily distinguished from the rest of the animal, one could at once see where it began and ended; consequently the exact place where the scissars or knife ought to be applied would be known without any hazard of error. But the head of snails is otherwise constructed: when out of the shell, the body, if we omit the horns, is a rude figure of a cone, of less diameter before, and of greater behind, where confined by the opening of the shell. It is a certain fact the head exists in the anterior part of the cone, but the difficulty consists in ascertaining the precise portion which it occupies, that we may be sure how much it is safe to cut off. To acknowledge the truth, no absolute rule can be given, on account

bount of the continual extension and contraction, the swelling and diminishing of the cone when the snail is in motion. I have commonly found, that the head extends from the obtuse extremity of the cone to about a line beyond the larger horns, when the snail stretches to the utmost from the shell, and there the section may be made so as securely to take away no more than the head. But if these limits be passed, so as to cut off some part of the body along with the head, then we are almost certain of the animal's death.

The snails on which my experiments have been made with the greatest success are of three species; the *Helix pomatia*, *nemoralis*, and *lucorum*, to avail myself of the appellations of the nomenclator, Linnæus. Several of one species are designed, Plate 6. Fig. 1. The snail in its shell, but preparing to come out. Fig. 2. It begins to display the head and horns. Fig. 3. The horns fully extended; the snail seen from below. Fig. 4. The snail as far out of the shell as possible. Fig. 5. A portion of the cone comprehending the head only, which, for better illustration, is represented severed from the neck. Fig. 6. The decapitated snail: four points appear on the trunk denoting the site of the four horns.

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Having obtained reproduction of the horns, it occurred to me to examine what would ensue on severing the head; but apprehensive that the snails would die before repairing the whole, my experiments were begun with truncating a part only, which was that free of the larger horns; and comprehending the lips, the mandible, and tooth, the tongue and the two lesser horns, besides the muscular involucra or integuments. This portion I shall hereafter call the *half cut head*, for the sake of brevity, fig. 4. a. c. That the division may be properly completed, it is requisite for the snail to be fully extended, and the part then cut clean off with scissars, making the section perpendicular to the axis of the cone. But the operation has not uniformly succeeded according to my desire. The head of the snail, as already observed, is extremely sensible, and scarcely is the touch felt, when it suddenly contracts and retires: or, if it is extended, it turns about in various directions. Thence the section often fails of success, if it is made obliquely, and the half head is not exactly severed. But as I judged it of the utmost importance, to the accuracy of the experiment, to learn what parts only were cut off, that it might be known whether the whole would afterwards be reproduced, should such a reproduction actually exist in nature, I imposed a labour on myself, which I had not done

done in my experiments on the reproductions of other animals ; and this was an anatomical examination of every half head, immediately on separation. I put the decapitated snails into so many small vessels, each numbered the same as in my journal, along with a brief anatomical description of the parts of each divided head. Thus there was no danger of mistake in my experiments ; and I could also learn whether the parts repaired corresponded perfectly in figure and size to the parts cut off. After these remarks, which it is proper to make, we may pass to the narrative of the results.

Immediately after amputation, the snail retires with the greatest precipitation, to conceal itself in the shell ; and frequently, in the act of retiring, emits a gentle hissing, which arises from the difficulty which the air finds in escaping from the respiratory canal, that being in some measure contracted by the sudden contraction of the body. Notwithstanding this enormous wound, the snail sometimes soon afterwards comes out, and begins to crawl about in the same manner as when untouched. A snail having lost half the head, and then proceeding from the shell, is designed, Fig. 7. The two points *r s* mark the situation of the small horns. The large are less than usual, because not fully extended. But the reverse generally happens. However, there is a very easy method

method of forcing the snail out for the purpose of viewing and examining the wounds, which is, breaking a little of the shell behind with repeated gentle strokes of a key or the handle of a knife: the snail, irritated by the blows, appears in whatever degree of reproduction the head should be. To avoid useless repetition, I shall here observe, that such expedients have prevailed whenever the snail refused to appear, and gave me an opportunity of seeing the cut if lately made, or, indeed, the rudiments and progress of the reproducing heads. When the portion is cut off, some of that liquid, which in snails supplies the place of blood, escapes: it soon stems, because the trunk immediately begins to corrugate and diminish, so as almost to disappear; and in its place is observed a slight incavation, where no marks of the cut are visible. The snails thus decapitated for the most part fix to the vessels containing them: they conceal themselves in their habitations, covering the mouth with their whitish operculum, produced by the tenacious matter which exudes from the body, and there they remain motionless for many weeks, or even for complete months.

When forced to come out, in thirty or forty days, the naked trunks of some appear without any marks of reproduction, but others, if the weather has been warm, exhibit a fleshy globule towards

towards the middle of the trunk, very soft, and of a whitish ash colour, in which there is no organization, either without or within. However, in eight or ten days more, organization is sensible in the globe, then become much larger. The rudiments of the lips are evident, as also those of the small horns, the mouth, and tongue, and a membranaceous dark coloured substance, which, from being fixed in the upper jaw, and cutting through, shews it to be the regenerating tooth of the snail. These parts develop further, and grow more conspicuous; they successively occupy greater space in the trunk; and, in two or three months at most, the divided head is repaired in such a manner, that, unless from the lighter colour, it is not distinguishable from the old one. This, besides external inspection, is demonstrated by anatomy. When the new head is laid open, the same parts are seen, corresponding in number, figure, and size, to those pre-existing in the old, which were scrupulously enumerated in my journal of each decollation. I cannot convey a more sensible idea of this reproduction to my readers, than by comparing it to an unexpanded flower. Considering the rudiments, they are a bud or little globe, consisting of membranes, so involved and aggregated among themselves, that we cannot discover the figure of the leaves or petals, as they may be called. These petals gradually

dually come into view, at first obscurely and confusedly, then so distinctly and evident, that every one may recognise them as the bud of a flower. In this manner does the involution of the expanding parts become visible in a real regenerated head.

This complete reproduction is very far from succeeding in all snails. Two most minute globules often proceed from the trunk, in one of which are the rudiments of the smaller horns : the other comprehends the rudiments of the lips, the mouth, tooth, and tongue. In process of time, these globules are united together, forming one only, and, by further unfolding, constitute the half head. It is not unusual, that one of the two reproduced horns never attains the natural length, or is distorted, or that one lip is smaller than the other, or even that the new head is quite inclined to one side, or a hollow or contraction between the new and the old, or, in short, that the head is not repaired at all ; and after six months, nay, after a whole year, the naked trunk alone appears, when the snail comes forth. When the cut is perpendicular to the axis of the cone, I have almost uniformly observed, that reproduction has perfect success, and that monstrosity and such anomalous productions frequently happen when the cut is oblique, and

and the bluntness of the scissors prevents the head from being at once divided.

I half decapitated three hundred and twenty two snails at different times: the heads of one hundred and twenty six were completely repaired. Thirty one had different degrees of monstrosity or deformity. Fourteen had no reproduction, and the remainder perished (1). Thus I have learned, that cutting off only half of the head was fatal to most snails. All those that repaired the wanting portion, made the same use of it as of the old, as well in the numerous and singular motions peculiar to this part, as in taking the sustaining aliment, such as bread, lettuce, and the like; by which means, from being very much emaciated before reproducing the head, they acquired their original fleshy fullness.

#### ARTICLE IV.—REPRODUCTION OF THE HEAD.

IN the former section, we have seen that the complete head of the snail extended about a line beyond the large horns. In this new course of experiments, I determined to separate the head entire, and endeavoured to make the cut exactly in

(1) I discovered that half, as well as the whole head, would be reproduced during spring and summer 1766.



in that place, and perpendicular to the fleshy cone formed by the head and neck. But the same difficulties are found here, as in amputating half the head. Thus the motion of the animals prevented the cut from always being made in the place intended. It has often failed, either from defect by separating less than the whole head, or from excess, by separating more. Therefore, that proper accuracy might be observed at every decapitation, I undertook the same anatomical examinations as before: the snails were preserved in vessels appropriated for the purpose, as also an exact account of the parts they had lost by amputation. Four hundred and twenty three were decapitated.

All those that, along with the head, had lost part of the neck, perished; nor is this surprising, considering that a portion of the organs of generation was likewise taken away. These organs originate within, in one side of the neck, and protrude by an opening when the animal copulates. A number mutilated of the whole head perished; but most of them survived this immense wound, and many completely reproduced the head. But as reproduction was attended by different circumstances, in various individuals, and all worthy of being known, it should be described in a more particular manner.

If a limb is cut off a water newt, the head or tail from an earth worm, the reproduction that ensues

ensues is an organized whole, that is, a limb, a head, or a tail, in miniature, perfectly similar to the severed one, and only requiring to be farther unfolded. On the contrary, no organized whole, comprehending all the parts of the severed head, appears on the trunk of a decapitated snail, but these parts are frequently separate from the beginning. Thus, some frequently expand after others; and only in a certain space are they all connected together, consolidated, and forming an organic whole, different in little or nothing from the old head. The subject will be more easily understood by examples.

Sometimes the incipient reproduction is a fleshy protuberance, adhering to the middle of the trunk by several points, and in a manner detached from it, which contains the rudiments of the two lips, the smaller horns, the mouth, tongue, and tooth, already repaired. The other parts, such as the larger horns and the rest of the head, are wanting altogether. The trunk of another snail will exhibit a large horn, already provided with its eye, and below, in a distant isolated part, are observed the first lineaments of the lips. In others, the reproduction is a groupe of three horns, two already of their natural size, and the third only a bit of skin. At first, some produce only a protuberance, which, by attentive

tive examination, is discovered to be the lips involved and confined together. Some are already provided with a head complete, all except one or two horns. Lastly, the trunk will exhibit only the two large horns, or the small ; or one large and one small.

But all these partial reproductions, and others that afterwards appear, join together in process of time, and by their union form a single reproduction, which is the head, and this, in many snails, is not in the smallest degree different from the old one, except in the lighter colour; by means of which the least observant person can recognise the portion reproduced. One that has completely repaired the head is represented, fig. 8. It has not yet acquired the dark natural colour. Fig. 9. represents the same, only this snail has not yet repaired the two large horns, as sometimes happens. In a little more time, the new head acquires the same hue as the old, and the one can be distinguished from the other, only by an ash coloured line, perpendicular to the axis of the neck, which faithfully indicates the place where the blade has passed in mutilating the snail. This is not constantly a simple line, sometimes it is a deep hollow, almost always of a whitish colour, perpendicular to the neck, if the cut has been perpendicular and oblique, if the cut has been so. In the latter case, the incavation is frequently

ly greater where most part of the head has been cut off : and, in some snails, an enormous wound appears on one side, though nothing is visible on the other, or only the ash-coloured line. And although length of time effaces the incavation, still the indication of the cut, that is, the line, will sometimes remain two years : nay, even after so long an interval, the head is not always complete, for it may want one or more horns ; or these, at least the whole, have not attained the proper size, or are gibbous and monstrous. Such monstrosity having frequently occurred, I am inclined to suspect that it originates from the obliquity of the cut, or from being more or less advanced on the neck.

The most indubitable proof of regeneration seemed to be when the heads began to feed. However, I was desirous of convincing myself by the infallible assistance of anatomy, which has always demonstrated that the new heads, which externally seemed to be completely reproduced, were provided with all the constituent parts that I had found in the old heads, which, in each decapitation, had been enumerated to avoid doubts and errors. I may add further, that each new part united, and so exactly applied its most subtle fibres to the old, that we should never have known the snails were mutilated, had it not been

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indicated

indicated by the ash-coloured line furrounding the neck.

Here I should not neglect to observe, that, in the same manner as some snails, deprived of half the head, never reproduced even in the longest time, the like has equally happened to several of those totally decapitated. Indeed, of four hundred and twenty-three mutilated in this way, thirty-two did not evince the smallest rudiments of reproduction in a year; ninety-three could not reproduce better: the heads of one hundred and forty-five were regenerated with monstrosities; and the remainder died. Reproduction of the whole head requires nearly the same time as that of the half.

Should I be asked, why there is no reproduction, either of the head or horns, in different snails? I shall ingenuously confess myself unable to advance any thing concerning it but simple conjectures. As the reproducing and unreproducing snails are both of the same species, we cannot say that some of them have the property and others have it not. I should rather suppose, that the reproductive virtue cannot take effect from the diseased state of the snails; having uniformly observed, that, besides their most remarkable emaciation, the exterior assumes a yellowish hue, which seems the inseparable concomitant of snails affected by disease, and liable to perish.

After:

After obtaining reproduction of the head, it was very natural to think that snails would regenerate other parts less essential ; such as, the eminent collar which surrounds and ornaments the back of the animal, when out of the shell, and the flat broad foot by which it is supported during its motion. These two parts, when cut off, were repaired in the best possible manner ; nature reproducing much or little, according as it had been cut away.

Uniting, in one point of view, what we have hitherto said of the reproductions of snails, it clearly appears, 1. That they can repair the horns, whether partially or wholly amputated ; 2. The head, when half is cut off ; 3. That it is as completely reproduced, though the whole has been severed ; 4. Whatever part of the collar or foot is cut off, it is regenerated. From which it is evident, that these reptiles recover precisely the parts that they have lost. This is not peculiar to them, for it takes place in other reproducing animals. If a newt wants a third or fourth of the tail, only a third or a fourth is reproduced ; and the same may be said of one half, or the whole tail. A similar phenomenon succeeds in the fore and hind legs of this amphibious animal (1). Reproduction of the parts wanting only, extends invariably to worms, as also to frogs, while yet tadpoles.

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(1) Prodromo citat.

tadpoles. Besides, on consulting the authors that have treated of animal reproductions, I find that the same unalterable laws have been observed; whence we may establish this general rule, if some anomalies are excepted, *In animals, endowed with a reproductive property, nature restores no more than the parts or organs of which they have been deprived.*

ARTICLE V.—FACTS RELATIVE TO THE REPRODUCTION OF THE HEAD OF SNAILS.

THIS Memoir shall be terminated with some new experiments, which I hope will not be disagreeable to the reader, as they will elucidate this interesting subject. Hitherto three species of snails have been mentioned, the *pomatia*, *nemorialis*, and *lucorum*. But are these the only snails enjoying reproductive powers? The experiments of foreign naturalists demonstrate that other species participate the same privilege. Yet I must acknowledge, that my experiments on others have almost always been void of success, for they have either not repaired the head or horns, or only exhibited the first rudiments of reproduction, which terminated with the death of the animal.

But whence does it arise that some species of snails have the faculty of reproduction, and others have not? Should such a question occur, I must candidly confess, that I have had not sufficient

sufficient materials to explain it. Was the organic structure of the reproducing snails very different from those that do not reproduce, some reason might be assigned for it; or, to speak more philosophically, was there any disparity between them. However, no such thing was found, at least by me, with any certainty, among the various species of snails that either succeeded or did not succeed in reproducing.

This uniformity of organization in snails specifically different, which at the same produces opposite results, as reproducing and not reproducing, is a useful lesson that we cannot avail ourselves of analogy in reasoning from one species to another; but that truth may be attained, we are under the necessity of undertaking as many experiments as there are animals specifically different; and the force of this conclusion, so humiliating to us, is more plain and evident, by throwing a transient glance on the various animals which naturalists have at different times discovered to be endowed with a reproductive virtue.

When the immortal Trembley first displayed the prodigies of the polypus to the philosophical world, it was thought that the very simple structure of the animal chiefly contributed to effect them. Indeed, the polypus being destitute of a heart, veins, and arteries, and, consequently, of the real circulation of fluids; neither brain, spi-



nal marrow, or nerves, nor any other concomitant of these parts, which are met with in an infinity of animals, being found in it ; but the whole appearing of a gelatinous and homogeneous substance, universally covered with a number of granules ; all this, I say, excited belief, that the simplicity of structure concurred in marking the portion cut from the polypus become an entire polypus. Thus it was thought, before the Genevese philosopher's discovery, that the wonderful phenomena, afterwards seen in polypi, succeeded in plants from their very simple structure. And the reproduction of parts lost by other animated beings of simple structure, as sea nettles, sea stars, and I may also add, crayfish, favoured the opinion. But it having afterwards been found, that certain fresh water worms, though much more compound than polypi, when cut in pieces, would become so many complete worms, it was demonstrated, that simplicity of organization was not a condition requisite for the reproduction of wanting parts (1). Besides, this is verified in the clearest manner by earth worms, since Reaumur has found that, cut in pieces, they multiply like plants, which is a physiological fact that some naturalists have denied, but it will be put beyond all question in my *Riproduzioni Animali*. When

(1) Bonnet *Traité d'Insectologie*.

I name the earth worm, I speak of an animated being whose organization is a thousand times more complicated than that of the polypus, from finding the circulation of blood, and, consequently, arterial and venous vessels in it : an alimentary canal, spinal marrow and nerves, and the union of two sexes, as it is an hermaphrodite. Of the same complicated structure is my fresh water boat worm ; nevertheless its reproductive faculty is not inferior to that of the earth or fresh water worm (2).

Yet how much higher does the organic structure of snails and newts place them in the animal scale ? Let us omit the former, as enough has already been said of them, and stop a moment to consider the latter. Though naturalists have properly classed the water newt among amphibia, it is a real quadruped, as it possesses in miniature most of the parts which quadrupeds have large. A great number of these have the tail provided with osseous vertebræ insinuated into each other, and successively smaller as the tail diminishes. The tail of water newts is of the same configuration, and consists of the same osseous vertebræ : it also has the soft solid parts, such as the *medulla longa*, which traverses each vertebra, and perforates the smallest : it has nerves, muscles, veins, ar-

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(2) Prodrómo.

teries, a heart, a numerous assemblage of glands containing that acrid milky fluid which exudes through the skin when the newt is irritated. Both the fore and hind legs have nearly as many soft solid parts, and hard solid parts or bones, as those of quadrupeds, and almost as we have ourselves. Finally, as a rudely circular bone furrounds and terminates the mandibles of our amphibia, from which a little regular forest of the sharpest teeth projects, Who could have supposed that this quadruped had the property of reproducing such an assemblage of parts so different among themselves? But it is most undoubted: for, besides being the first discoverer myself, I have witnessed it repeatedly. Losing the whole four limbs at a blow is nothing to a newt, because it can reproduce them all, and reproduce them perfectly. I have taken the trouble of numbering the bones in these limbs, and found them to be ninety-nine: and ninety-nine have existed in the four reproduced limbs when all were amputated from the trunk. Nay, let the four legs be completely cut off, and the whole tail, as also the two mandibles; the newt, in addition to reproducing the limbs, will at the same time repair the jaws and the tail. This fact, which has so much the appearance of a paradox, and at first sight seems more fabulous than the famous Lernean Hydra, I have repeatedly seen  
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and shown to many friends, to the great amazement of them all. The water newt is so much more the object of admiration, since it never defrauds the eager experimentalist of its multiplied reproductions, which is otherwise with snails, as some of them will not reproduce.

Behold the evident existence of reproduction, beginning with the polypus, proceeding to various worms, then to snails, and, lastly, to water newts, that is, advancing from the most simple animals to others less simple, and from these to some whose organic structure is more complicated; and there is no essential difference produced by the more simple or more complex organization.

These facts also prove, that the tenderness or delicacy of fibre is by no means a condition necessary for animal reproduction. How great is the difference between the body of a polypus and the tail or limbs of a water newt? But do not both reproduce in the same manner? How many small animals are there, as delicate as the polypus, even much more so, and as completely aquatic, which, instead of reproducing when cut asunder, inevitably perish? as I have ascertained by numerous experiments.

However it is proper to remark, that of the animals adapted by nature for reproduction, those provided with the more tender fibre have a singular

gular prerogative over the rest. In the first place, the defective limbs begin sooner to be repaired. A polypus, divided into many pieces, in a few hours begins to multiply into so many other polypi; an earth or water worm requires a few days; a snail or newt, on the contrary, requires several weeks, before beginning to reproduce. Secondly, reproduction is much sooner complete in the former. Only a few days are necessary for a polypus; worms require whole weeks; the snail must have several months for repairing its head; and a year is not sufficient for the new limbs of a newt to grow as large as the old. Thirdly, the same animal, so long as young, and the fibre consequently more tender and pliant, will reproduce the lost parts quicker. This I have seen in newts, and also in snails, which will repair the severed head in six weeks, and much sooner, if young. Finally, reproduction is more tardy, as the natural softness of the animal decreases. We have a striking instance of this in frogs. If, while still tadpoles, but the limbs beginning to appear, their limbs should be amputated, by my own observations it is certain that they will be most completely repaired. But the same will not succeed when the tadpole has assumed the figure of a frog: then it is never, or almost never, that the trunk puts forth a new limb. Whence arises so great a difference in the

the same limbs of this amphibious animal? Shall we say, that this virtue, this reproductive power, which the animal enjoyed while a tadpole, has been lost by it becoming a frog? as if, by the metamorphosis, it ceased to be the same animal, which is but an unphilosophical sentiment (1). I find it more consistent with truth, to suppose the reproductive power continues in the frog; it is enabled to operate in the tadpole, by means of the great tenderness of fibre, but its action is afterwards prevented from the succeeding induration. Let us endeavour to elucidate this a little. The frog, while a tadpole, never leaves the water; and it would perish on attempting to do so. Only from time to time does it dart from the bottom to the surface, and, for a moment, puts up its mouth, to expel the air from its lungs, and inspire what is fresh. The trunks of the amputated limbs then remain in a state of the greatest softness, being always immersed in water, and bathed by it in every point. The minute limb, yet a germ, will be able to perforate the trunk, if this expression may be used, to come out and freely expand. But the same thing will not happen, when the frog has attained its full and permanent size. Then, as it generally remains out of the water, or retreats thither only when menaced by danger, the trunk will be subject

(1) Dissertaz. de Fis. Animal. et Vegetab. T. 2.

ject to the influence of the air : thus it will cicatrize ; and the contraction, occasioned by the cicatrice, will prevent the reproducing germ from breaking through and expanding. The mutilations of snails, hitherto mentioned, were for the most part performed when spring was somewhat advanced ; because I had observed, that no less than  $61^{\circ}$  of heat was necessary to obtain reproduction, which we generally have not in Lombardy before that time ; and if they are then decapitated, it is certain that the snails, at least many of them, will repair the head. But what will ensue, if decollation is towards the middle of September, or when the requisite heat does not continue with us more than a month, on account of the supervening autumnal rains ? I have instituted many experiments for elucidating this curious enquiry, and obtained the following results : If the mutilated snails were exposed to the heat of a stove, equal or surpassing the necessary degree, I was sure of reproduction before the end of winter. If kept in a situation where, for some days, they might be exposed to the cold of freezing, the greater part perished. When the cold was less, they retained the power of reproduction, which re-appeared in spring ; and the head and horns, having begun to grow at the commencement of winter, attained their full size in the subsequent spring. If decollated in the beginning

ginning of winter, and care taken that they did not perish with cold, though without being kept in a stove, no reproductive principle appeared on the plane of the trunk ; but it became evident in May, and advanced to perfection during the summer months.

The same mode of regeneration practised by nature in the reproductions of snails she also practises in those of newts, of earth worms, and water worms ; with one variation, however, that these animals reproduce, though slowly, at the temperate degree, which arises either from the great softness of their fibre, or from something peculiar in their nature.

When engaged with the reproductions of earth worms, it struck me to try whether the reproductive power was exhausted by the first reproduction, and I found that it was not. Thus to the second reproduction succeeded a third ; and this being taken away, there came a fourth, then a fifth, and so on. If a portion of such successive reproductions were cut off, the second reproduction entered the first, and the third the second, &c. Thus I came to have a scale of reproductions united to the old trunk, always younger, smaller, and the colour gradually lighter.

These regenerations of reproductions equally succeeded in the tail of tadpoles, and, what is more surprising, in that of newts, and likewise in their  
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their limbs, though the parts of these two members are so different from each other. Therefore, if the four limbs and tail of a newt, already reproduced, are amputated, other four limbs and a tail will regenerate a second time; and this experiment may be considerably protracted. Indeed, with young water newts, where the reproductions were prompt, I obtained six successive reproductions of the limbs and six reproductions of the tail during the months June, July, and August. In one of these animals, I counted six hundred and eighty-seven bones reproduced.

In consequence of these reproductions in earth worms, tadpoles, and newts, I thought of trying whether they would succeed in snails; and, for that purpose, mutilated several, some of the horns, and others of different portions of the head, or the whole; and I cut off whatever parts were renewed, exactly where they joined the old trunk. The second reproduction did not fail to take place and succeed in the same manner as the first; and this also happened with a third reproduction; but the death of the snails prevented me from extending these curious experiments further.

Another suggestion occurred, besides this enquiry, which was to investigate whether the reproductive powers could at last be exhausted, or whether they would always succeed, so long as  
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the animal lived. And the experiment might have been begun on newts in preference, selecting the youngest, because this amphibious animal is easier mutilated than snails, more tenacious of life, and reproduces more readily; but I had not leisure for such experiments, which, if undertaken by any expert naturalist, will undoubtedly tend to utility, and may form a new chapter in physiology.

In the whole course of this memoir, I have delivered the results of my experiments only, and always suppressed the details. Had I related these, it would have been a volume, not a memoir; but I was desirous of instructing the reader, without fatiguing him by long circumstantial narratives. I always hope to have obtained sufficient credit with the public to merit belief. It gives me pleasure to observe, that almost the whole of these results are confirmed by distinguished naturalists, as will appear in a second memoir on the reproductions of snails, where an abstract shall be given of the writings in my favour, and, at the same time, one of all those that attempt to controvert them. The confirmers, as far as I know, are Messrs Turgot, Lavoisier, Tenon, Herissant, Bonnet, Senebier, Schaeffer, Roos, Muller, Scarella, Troilo, besides three other Italians, celebrated professors of anatomy, who, having recently repeated my experiments, and  
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found them true, have been so obliging as to communicate their memoirs. The controverters are Messrs Murray, Wartel, Cotte, Bomare, Adanson, Schroeter, Argenville, Presciani. In my second treatise, I shall likewise examine the value of the impugnations with philosophic impartiality, and shall not fail to give the merit of the impugnators its full weight. I am very far from supposing that my discovery will form an epoch in natural philosophy; it will rather form an epoch in the history of the human mind, to see how an experiment, so certain, so easy as that is, of obtaining the reproduction of the head of the snail, has deceived such a number of philosophers,—and, what is more astonishing, in an age which seems to be that of observation and experiment, if, on the other hand, it was not remarkable that experiments are made by every one. But the proper method of experiment has always been, and will always be, confined to very few.

MEMOIR





## M E M O I R II.

## INTRODUCTION.

I KNOW not whether in our days there has been any natural phenomenon which, from novelty and singularity, has made as great a noise in the physical world, has given birth to so many experiments, and altogether to results so various and opposite as the reproduction of the heads of snails. Since the publication of my *Prodromo*, and the translation of it into the French, German, and English languages, it is incredible how many of these reptiles have been decollated ; partly by some whose account of their experiments first imparted to the world that they existed ; partly by ordinary naturalists, or those of some celebrity, but little less than unskilled in experiment, and partly by illustrious naturalists who, in the art of experiment, enjoy a distinguished reputation. How was it possible that so great a differ-

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ence among the experimentalists did not produce considerable discrepancies in their results? Thus it has actually happened, that some, very far from obtaining the reproduction of these testaceous animals, have beheld them die, which has given occasion to dispute and reject my discovery, from considering it more imaginary than true. Others, having obtained only the rudiments of reproduction, have not thought it false but exaggerated. However, the rest, by obtaining complete regeneration of the head, have amply confirmed it.

As the principal results of my own experiments were narrated in the first memoir, I have now to relate those of others: explaining with amicable impartiality, as well those favourable to my cause as those that are adverse to it. But it should be observed, that I shall only speak of the experiments both for and against, that have appeared in print, or which unpublished have been communicated to me by distinguished naturalists. Although there are other experiments on the subject, and these neither few, nor made by men of contemptible fame, I do not consider them deserving of repetition, because they have not been acknowledged by their authors, who, surprised at the singularity of the fact, had no object in view, good or bad, but to make them, and were indifferent about committing them to writing, much less to render them public.

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To elucidate the matter, and preserve regularity, it will be proper to divide the treatise into three articles: The first will enumerate those experiments that controvert my discovery; the second will comprehend those confirming it; and the third will embrace a few reflections that I have esteemed applicable for removing doubt, and placing the truth in a clearer point of view.

ARTICLE I.—EXPERIMENTS ADVERSE TO THE REPRODUCTION OF THE HEAD OF THE SNAIL.

WE may call the *Avant Coureur*, a weekly publication in Paris, the field of battle, where many authors have contended both for the reproductions of decapitated snails and against them. The first opposition was made in 1768. ‘M. Wartel, about the end of October 1767, decapitated many snails, which suddenly retired within their shells. With great surprise he saw them issue from their dwellings full of life, but without the head, in May 1768. He does not imagine that the reproduction of the head is possible: since none of his repaired it, and some did not even renew the horns.’

Father Cotté repeated these experiments, as appears from the same journal, May 1769. In June, taking advantage of a shower of rain, he decapi-

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tated a number of snails with a pair of sharp scissars. Four of twelve died in eight days, and only one of the rest survived: it lived more than a year, but without the smallest appearance of reproduction. In the same month, he decapitated other twelve. Some, which he thought had undergone the operation, still exhibited the horns complete; whence he concluded, that the snail may so suddenly retract the head, that only part of the skin or integument is cut off, and thus deceives the observer. Those, however, less alert, and which really lose the head, he is fully convinced never repair it.

He continued decollating a prodigious number of snails during 1770, 1771, 1772, 1773, and with nearly the same consequences. All died in time without reproducing the head. If the scissars separated only the skin or horns, these parts were repaired.

In the same year, 1769, M. Valmont de Bomare published his experiments in the *Berne Journal*. He repeated Sig. Spallanzani's experiments along with M. Borie. They have observed, that decapitated snails immediately died, 'exhaling an intolerable fœtor.' Of 52, only 9 were alive in 24 hours; and none except those in which the bluntness of the knife had made the cut between the horns and parts of generation, and did not go through. The horns were  
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“ sensibly retracted when the skin and upper jaw  
 “ were cut off: and the animal, having come out,  
 “ displayed the mutilated horns.”

To these three naturalists should be joined M. Argenville and Schroeter. With respect to the former, I have not been able to procure his work: but Mr Murray quotes it in these words: ‘Of an hundred snails, hardly 25 were alive the day after decapitation.’ The German naturalist decapitated several hundreds: as they all died, he thinks that he is authorized to deny that these reptiles renew the head: and never having had the least part of the horns or tail repaired, he equally denies the possible reproduction of these parts (1).

There are still some authors who do not entirely controvert my discovery; for they admit reproduction of part of the head, but deny that of the whole. These are Messrs Murray, Adanson, and Presciani. Murray mutilated two of the species *pomatia*, so that the head was severed behind the large horns. One died in a week: the other reproduced, though in miniature, for it was only a small horn, and as if in despite of nature: it was shorter and thicker than usual, and wanting the black point at the extremity, which is

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(1) Verf. c. System. abhandl. uber. d. Ecdyconchylien.  
 Berlin, 1771.

commonly reputed the eye. He mutilated other ten, in various ways, of the species *nemoralis*. In about six weeks, one, deprived of the horns only, had two reproduced, but both wanting the eye. Those decollated retired into their shells, and could not again be forced to appear. Mr Murray's patience being exhausted, he broke one of the shells, and saw two points like the rudiments of horns already protruded. A fortuitous event prevented the continuance of his observations. From what he had seen, he declared his resolution to preserve a middle course between those who denied the reproduction of the head, and those who admitted it.

Somewhat analogous are the experiments of Dr Presciani of Arezzo in Tuscany, inserted in the *Giornale di Pisa*, 1778. He ends the detail of his experiments thus : ' In my opinion, I have been able to ascertain, that the snails, which had lost part of the brain along with the head, died sooner or later according to the portion taken away : that the others, which had lost the horns, lips, teeth, throat, and tongue, without the brain being touched, lived as long as they could survive without food. Those deprived of the horns and integuments of the head have all had perfect reproduction.' M. Adanson is also in the list of experimentalists, not that he has published any writing specifically on the subject, but

but from a letter to M. Bonnet, we know that he has sacrificed more snails than any other naturalist, as more than 1400 were decapitated in one year. He had partial reproductions even immediately, of horns, heads, lips, &c. but these were reproductions of parts not entirely cut off: since all the heads, horns, jaws, &c. completely separated, never manifested the smallest reproduction.

ARTICLE II.—AN ACCOUNT OF THE EXPERIMENTS WHICH CORROBORATE THE REPRODUCTION OF THE HEAD.

NOTWITHSTANDING the multiplicity of the experiments related, I have never found myself in the least inclined to repent having published, in the *Prodromo*, my singular observations on snails, and that because I was too well assured of having seen what is stated there, and without any apprehension, that deceitful appearances had imposed upon me. In the end of spring 1766, I had witnessed the renewal of the head and horns; but I delayed laying this wonderful phenomenon open to the world until 1768. I was not content with having once beheld it; I wished to see it anew, and to return to it often, at the same time observing the most minute anatomical

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examination,

examination, as well of the ~~severed~~ <sup>severed</sup> parts of those renewed, to ascertain whether, in all strictness, the part reproduced might truly be called the head of the snail. In my literary correspondence with M. Bonnet, I regularly recounted the whole series of facts, respecting the beginning, progress, and termination of the reproductions, of which he was completely convinced, as appears by many letters to me on the subject, now printed in his works. And of the same opinion were all the learned persons, to whom I had shewn the reproductions, both in Modena, while professor in that university, and here in Pavia. Even about the end of June 1782, having some snails that were mutilated in May, and reproducing favourably, I had the pleasure of shewing them to two respectable friends, excellent judges of such matters, M. Tiffot and Father Barletti, who, after examining them strictly in every part, agreed, without hesitation, that the parts repaired were not the *cap* or *bonnet*, as M. Adanson humorously calls it, but true, most certain, most undoubted new heads. Therefore M. Tiffot, about the beginning of July, did me the favour to carry some of the reproducing snails to Geneva, to be presented in my name to M. Bonnet, who, on the tenth of August, wrote to me; 'All the snails arrived in the best state; and have shewn their admirable reproductions better than those

‘those on which I made my experiments. Your’s  
 ‘are of a species with which I was unacquainted ;  
 ‘they seem in some respect to approach the  
 ‘large species of our country, but differing in co-  
 ‘lour and the smallness of size. Reproduction  
 ‘is evidently more easily accomplished in your’s  
 ‘than in these, or in the French species, which I  
 ‘conclude both from my own experiments and  
 ‘those of others.’ And he adds, ‘Your snails  
 ‘have given the best evidence of reproduction,  
 ‘by gnawing through the paper that confined  
 ‘them.’

From my experiments, I was conscious I had  
 not been deceived, whatever the authors in the  
 preceding section might oppose ; considering also,  
 that their experiments were negative, and mine  
 positive. The logic teaching a positive fact is  
 not overturned by a thousand negatives ; because  
 the accidents are innumerable, and most of them  
 unforeseen, that may disturb the success of an  
 event. Yet, notwithstanding all these reasons,  
 had my own experiments only, argued in my fa-  
 vour, I should not have been completely satisfied.  
 But, besides M. Bonnet, the rest of my learned  
 friends, who, with their own eyes had beheld this  
 physical fact and with admiration, were perfectly  
 convinced, still I had reason to doubt whether  
 the same would be admitted by an enlightened  
 public ; and every author, who publishes his dis-  
 coveries,

coveries, should be very earnest that this will be the case. Thus, the readers who, after perusing my experiments, proceeded to those of my opponents, found themselves between two contradictory authorities ; and, notwithstanding the confidence with which I had made a positive assertion in the affirmative, this was insufficient for dissipating every shadow of doubt or suspicion from their minds, which might be excited by the unheard of singularity of the fact, and perhaps confirmed and augmented by such a number of other facts tending to impugn it. There was no method more effectual towards conviction, than that this disputed reproduction should come under the rigorous investigation of able naturalists ; and that they should ascertain it in such a manner as to leave no room for contradiction. This has happened. Besides the internal complacency which every philosophic enquirer feels in finding his own experiments confirmed, I also have the satisfaction to observe that most of these naturalists have been pleased to take my part, without the least relation existing between them and me, or the smallest literary intercourse. Therefore I judge it of great importance to my cause, which is that of truth, to collect together the facts that favour it.

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In the *Acant Canari* are also some experiments corroborating mine; the first of which is this.

‘H. Roos, a German, now residing in Paris, has undertaken to verify Sig. Spallanzani’s experiments on decapitated snails. Some died; others survived the operation. One reproduced the larger horns; another, which had been decollated at the root of the horns, acquired a new head and four new horns,’ *Journal*, No. 30, 35, 47, 1768.

This experiment corresponds with those of M. Lavoisier, related in the same journal, No. 38. We now speak of Sig. Spallanzani’s singular discovery, concerning the reproduction of the head of the snail, with more confidence, because M. Lavoisier has shewn the Royal Academy of Sciences a snail which he decapitated on the 12 of last June, which has reproduced a new head exactly similar to the first. He has several more, with the reproduction less advanced. The head was cut off a little beyond the large horns. More than a month elapsed before there was any symptom of regeneration, which a small papilla or tubercle announced. The horns are much thicker than in their natural state, and only a line and a half long. M. Lavoisier has remarked, that the part called the tail is also capable of reproduction.’

But



But M. Lavoisier is not the only academician who has seen the reproduction, as we learn from the memoirs of the Royal Academy. ‘ Since Sig. Spallanzani’s discovery, many snails have been decapitated. From the observations communicated by Messrs Turgot, Tenon, Herissant, and other philosophers, the head was completely severed from some snails; of others, longitudinally split up, and one half taken away; and some had the horns cut off, or pulled out.

‘ In about a month, a protuberance forms in the middle of the section, which gradually grows, and at last becomes a new head, provided with its mouth and teeth. M. Herissant has demonstrated that these teeth are reproduced, having shewn a severed head, with the teeth, preserved in the spirit of wine, though there were also teeth in the regenerated head of the same snail.’

‘ The horns are not reproduced until the head is entirely formed; and their growth preserves no uniform rule.’

These are all the experiments, so far as I know, made in Paris. And I have next to speak of those undertaken by other naturalists, in different parts of Europe: and, as I am desirous of continuing the same chronological order which I have hitherto endeavoured to preserve, we shall, in the first place, advert to a treatise by Muller  
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of Copenhagen, printed 1769, and republished in his work, *Vermium terrestrium et fluviatilium succincta historia*. And as this treatise is not very short, I shall only give an abridgement of it.

1. The German naturalist accomplished decapitation with very fine scissars, when the snail was fully stretched; taking the greatest care not to cut off the part usually called the foot. 2. Immediately after decollation, he constantly examined the amputated head, both with his naked eye and a magnifier, and also shewed it to learned men, who beheld not only the four horns, the extremities of the two larger with eyes, but the mouth, lips, and jaws. 3. Though part of the skin and horns may be taken away, and not the head, an exact observer cannot be deceived, by examining the severed portion which remains on the blade of the scissars; and he easily judges whether or not the operation has been properly performed. 4. The reproduced parts are distinguished from the rest by greater whiteness and transparency; while those separated always continue obscure. 5. Many accidents evitable and inevitable may impede reproduction; but a single operation, accurately performed, will prove the fact without reply.

These are preliminary remarks; and the sum of Muller's observations is as follows.

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Both the *pomatia* and *memoralis* he found inept for reproduction, but it was otherwise with a variety of the latter. On the 19 of July 1768, one was decapitated, and part of the neck, along with the anterior portion of the foot, likewise cut off. It was long before reproduction commenced. The foot, however, was repaired on the 16 of September; but the head did not appear before spring 1769: and in summer, the whole was complete, except the mouth, lips, and smaller horns.

In another snail, decollated 14 September 1768, the upper lip was already formed, March 1769, and the opening of the mouth had become visible. A third, decapitated 14 September, had repaired most part of the head during the following summer.

Muller terminates his memoir with observing, that a subsequent journey had prevented further examination of the reproducing heads; but that the restitution of separated parts had been indisputably proved.

The Padre Scarella of Brescia repeated my experiments in the same year, 1769, and communicated the result in the following letter: 'After four months silence, I am now to relate what it has been in my power to observe respecting snails, and also the observations of a skilful anatomist, my friend Sig. Ludovico Pusini, who, I hope, will in time publish his anatomical and physiological

‘physiological discoveries. On the 27 of April,  
 ‘in presence of many professors of medicine and  
 ‘philosophy, I decapitated sixty-two snails a little  
 ‘below the large horns. Until the end of last  
 ‘month, they remained undisturbed in a box,  
 ‘exposed to the air of the window in a close  
 ‘apartment; only, from time to time, I threw  
 ‘away those which were evidently dead from the  
 ‘fœtor. Since the tenth of September, I have  
 ‘found twenty-two alive, which protruded the  
 ‘head partially, or entirely reproduced when sti-  
 ‘mulated. And this was clearly recognised by  
 ‘every person present. The head of one was  
 ‘completely repaired; another had the two  
 ‘large horns; others, part both of the large and  
 ‘small; and, in all the rest, the progress of re-  
 ‘production was various. Sig. Pufini shewed  
 ‘me a snail with the head completely repaired.

‘I am, with great esteem, your most humble  
 ‘and devoted servant, GIAMBATTISTA SCA-  
 ‘RELLA. Brescia, 28 September 1769.’

The year after this gentleman politely com-  
 municated his observations, I understood, from  
 my illustrious friend M. Bonnet of Geneva, that  
 M. Schaeffer of Ratisbon had lately published an  
 account of his experiments, which confirmed  
 mine in a surprising manner. Being very earnest  
 to obtain further information, I resolved to ad-  
 dress the author himself; from whom I had this  
 obliging

obliging letter: 'It has so happened, Signor,  
 ' my experiments and observations on snails ful-  
 ' ly verify your's. Perhaps my curiosity has been  
 ' extended a little farther: but I regret that the  
 ' dissertations are written in German, and that I  
 ' have not had leisure to make an abridgement  
 ' for you in Latin or French. This defect can  
 ' only be supplied by subjoining a brief extract  
 ' which a friend has composed. And I remain  
 ' your most humble and obliged servant, GIA-  
 ' COMO SCHAEFFER. Ratisbon, 8 March 1770.'

*Extract concerning the reproduction of snails.*

' In the year 1753, M. Ziegenbalg, a learn-  
 ' ed Dane, presented a memoir to the academy  
 ' of Copenhagen, where he communicated that  
 ' some snails that had been decapitated, were still  
 ' alive, and continued to come out and retire in-  
 ' to their shells as usual. Although this must  
 ' have appeared a very extraordinary phenome-  
 ' non, it does not seem to have met with the atten-  
 ' tion it deserved. Nor was it until March 1768,  
 ' that Father Boscovich announced to M. de la  
 ' Condamine, that the Abbé Spallanzani had  
 ' decapitated several snails; and not only did they  
 ' live, but, after retiring a certain time into their  
 ' shells, came out as they do naturally, and at last  
 ' had regenerated a new head organised like the  
 ' first.

*Observations*

‘ Observations of this description could not fail  
 ‘ to attract the attention of naturalists : and the  
 ‘ celebrated Schæffer of Ratisbon, in particular,  
 ‘ has put this phenomenon beyond all dispute.  
 ‘ That eminent naturalist, having frequently re-  
 ‘ peated experiments on snails, had the head and  
 ‘ also the tail reproduced. Last year he publish-  
 ‘ ed his experiments in a tract illustrated with co-  
 ‘ loured figures.

‘ They have lately been repeated. On the  
 ‘ ninth of May, twenty-six snails were deca-  
 ‘ pitated : Only two died from the operation ; all  
 ‘ the rest lived, and regenerated the head.’

In the year 1769, Sig. Ab. Troilo, librarian to  
 his Serene Highness the Duke of Modena, and  
 Emeritus Professor of Experimental Philosophy  
 in the same university, engaged in the subject,  
 and next year communicated his results to me.

On the fifth of May, one hundred and twenty-  
 four snails were mutilated. The whole head, and a  
 portion of the neck were cut off 68. From 28, the  
 head and no more. From other 28, one half of it,  
 that is, the portion including the two smaller  
 horns, the lips, mandibles, tooth, and the various  
 muscles appertaining to these parts.

Forty-nine of the first division had perished  
 against the twenty-ninth : but one began to re-  
 pair a portion of the head : some others had re-  
 generated the left larger horn, and all the rest,

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except

except one, exhibited a principle of reproduction.

More snails died in June; and on the 14, of all the sixty-eight deprived of the head and part of the neck, not one remained alive.

With the 28 decapitated, without injuring the other parts, it was very different. Only one had died twenty-four days after decapitation: and the originating horns of almost the whole were budding; or, indeed, the rudiments of the head; and the regeneration of some was complete in the beginning of June, for they ate lettuce presented to them.

It was much more credible, that reproduction of half the head would be easier obtained. The Abbé terminates his letter, remarking that, notwithstanding the facility of reproduction, the head of some snails was not entirely repaired during the first days of September; and of the monstrosities attending the various generations, one was very singular: it consisted of two horns of unequal length, situated on the right side of the head, which, after being always united, and as if incorporated together, came at length to form a single horn thicker and shorter than a large one is naturally.

Several years after these experiments, and when I was thinking little about them, three new treatises were published confirming my observations,

tions, two by M. Bonnet, and the third by M. Senebier, librarian to the Republic of Geneva. The chief motives inducing both these naturalists to experiment on snails were the doubts started by Messrs Adanson and Murray against reproductions. M. Senebier's account of his experiments is in a letter to the Abbé Rozier, and inserted in the *Journal de Physique*. I shall transcribe the whole as it is very short:

‘I avail myself of this opportunity to announce, that I have repeated the celebrated Abbé Spallanzani’s singular experiments on the regeneration of the head of decollated snails. I have lately perused the *Göttingen Gazette*, where there is an extract from a memoir by Professor Murray, which puts the matter in doubt: and because I know the truth of these observations has been questioned by no contemptible observers both in France and Italy, I now write you this, as the season is favourable for reproduction, and fits for repetition of the experiment.’

‘I decapitated twelve garden snails, on 5 April, and ascertained that separation was complete, by inspecting the severed head with a magnifier, and comparing it with Swammerdam’s exact description. In three weeks, one exhibited the head and larger horns reproduced: the small horns were going on & had become as good as one.’



ones also budded, and the snail was soon as perfect as before decapitation.

M. Bonnet, by numerous and correct experiments, established the truth of mine (1).

Here terminates the results by which Messrs. Roos, Lavoisier, Turgot, Tenon, Herissant, Scarella, Schæffer, Troilo, Senebier, and Bonnet have confirmed my discovery. But this discovery, I hope, will acquire greater confidence among the learned, from being enriched by three inedited treatises; the publication of which I am certain will be most agreeable to the reader, as they are the production of three able Italian professors of anatomy, already celebrated by their interesting works: and these are, Sig. Caldani, Girardi, and Pratolongo, junior. I lately requested these gentlemen to make experiments on our reptiles, and with philosophic candour to inform me of their success. They complied; and the following letters are transcribed in the order of time that I received them.

Most esteemed Friend,—Behold me at last prepared to satisfy your request, by relating the success of my observations on the reproductive faculty of snails. The simple recital of facts will be sufficient, for the journal of observations

(1) I conceive it superfluous to give any extract from his Memoirs, as they immediately follow this.—T.

“servations is too long, and so ill written, that it  
 “would give you considerable trouble to read  
 “it: nor have I time to make a correct co-  
 “py.

“My experiments began last July; and I used  
 “the snails commonly found in gardens, of a  
 “figure approaching to spherical, and with a  
 “dark brown shell. Seventeen, some large and  
 “some small, were decapitated behind the large  
 “horns. Decollation was performed on a smooth  
 “wooden tablet, with a strong sharp razor. The  
 “snails instantly retired into their shells: a viscous  
 “frothy matter exuded from the trunk, in many  
 “of a greenish colour. They were immediately  
 “put into a vessel among soft earth, and covered  
 “with a sieve.

“Next I proceeded to dissect the heads, after be-  
 “ing kept a little in warm water; and in all, found  
 “the upper and under part, with the horns,  
 “mouth, lips, teeth, and a portion of the pha-  
 “rynix. I know not whether I should inform  
 “you, that these snails were what the French call  
 “*escargot*, and are described by Swammerdam in  
 “his *Biblia Naturn*. The general appearance  
 “seemed to correspond with this; but, assisted  
 “with a good magnifier, some difference was vi-  
 “sible, as Swammerdam’s are in various places  
 “covered with small isolated tubercles of an irre-  
 “gular figure, whereas mine were wholly cover-

‘ed with longish tubercles closely united, and  
 ‘like so many elliptical pellucid vesicles, almost  
 ‘all of equal size, but not isolated, and they  
 ‘were surrounded by another substance evident  
 ‘to the eye. When the animal’s body was ex-  
 ‘tended, the vesicles were long, when contrac-  
 ‘ted, they became round.

‘From this imperfect description, so able a  
 ‘naturalist as you, will recognise the snails which  
 ‘were the subject of my experiments. Perhaps  
 ‘the French word *escargot* means snails in gene-  
 ‘ral, and no particular species.

‘Only four of the seventeen snails survived.  
 ‘Whether this unlucky circumstance was owing  
 ‘to the excessive heat of the weather, or my too  
 ‘impatient curiosity, not considering how the  
 ‘wound might be affected by the air, I cannot  
 ‘well determine. Two died in four days; a  
 ‘third on the twenty-eighth, other two on the  
 ‘thirty-first day; and three more lived thirty  
 ‘three. Then I did not find one dead until the  
 ‘sixty-sixth day, and the rest on the eighty-  
 ‘fourth.

‘All had exhibited some marks of reproduc-  
 ‘tion; two had the large horns half regenerated,  
 ‘the lips and teeth also made great progress.  
 ‘There was a monstrosity in the horns as they  
 ‘were united. In the other eleven, a tubercle  
 ‘arose from the trunk, and in the centre of it a  
 ‘black,

black point, which included the horns joined in one. In other five, that repaired the head completely, were two black points on the sides of the tubercle, and a black line was afterwards observed connected with them. These points were manifestly the eyes and the lines, the optic nerves. One of the heads was not repaired in less than four months and a half. The reproduction was undoubted, because all four, which are still alive, fed on young lettuce, and also drew the operculum within the shell.

There is no wonder that nature has provided a protection such as the cover; for decapitated snails, from long abstinence, want that gluten with which their loss is repaired; and it is always thinner, according to the duration of abstinence.

The reparatory matter of the operculum fails in different periods of time. Some snails cease to repair it in nineteen days, others in forty-eight. The defect of gluten alarmed me, for the safety of my four remaining snails, therefore I kept them in a warm situation; and they repaired a very thin operculum, which was proof they had fed.

The reparation of the small horns is always more tardy, compared to the large ones and the lips; neither are the horns always of the same length and thickness. I have never seen the

‘ the grain has repaired. Yours, CALDART, Pa-  
 ‘ dan, 27th December 1783, 10; nono. 19 v. 1  
 ‘ Nettie's a letter from Sign. Batselengh.

‘ By your Reverence's most obliging letter, I  
 ‘ understand that you desire some information  
 ‘ concerning my observations on the reproduc-  
 ‘ tion of snails. This I consider an express com-  
 ‘ mand, which I the more willingly obey, as I  
 ‘ have the pleasure of numbering myself among  
 ‘ those who have confirmed your discovery.

‘ My experiments were made in 1789 in con-  
 ‘ sequence of several anonymous letters in jour-  
 ‘ nals published here, where I was desired to show  
 ‘ the reproduction of the head of snails, decapi-  
 ‘ tated, when I first came to this city. Being  
 ‘ unable to satisfy their curiosity, because all those  
 ‘ reptiles had perished, from the bran, I believe,  
 ‘ where I had incautiously put them, entirely co-  
 ‘ vering them; and reflecting that it would be to  
 ‘ no purpose, referring to the successful experi-  
 ‘ ments of Muller-Ross, Schaeffer, Bonnet, La-  
 ‘ voisier, and other most accurate naturalists,  
 ‘ who confirmed this discovery, I resolved to  
 ‘ repeat my experiments.

‘ On the 10 of July, the time reputed most fa-  
 ‘ vourable for reproduction, I took twelve snails  
 ‘ of the species called *Romaria* by Linnaeus in  
 ‘ his *Fauna Svecica*, and similar to those which I  
 ‘ sent your Reverence last year. Anxious that my  
 ‘ experiments

' experiments. I should have been very careful to take every  
 ' necessary precaution; for, by neglecting it, these rep-  
 ' tiles perished, as must have happened to those of  
 ' Mr. Ascaron, Bonnier, and Fuchs. But  
 ' I did not follow the plan adopted by others of  
 ' immersion in water, as for the time being. Had  
 ' Mr. Bonnier omitted it, his snails would have sur-  
 ' vived. Perhaps in this I might be too scrupu-  
 ' lous. My method was to put them on young  
 ' grafts, and wait patiently till they were ful-  
 ' ly extended, then, with a pair of sharp scissors, I  
 ' severed the head immediately behind the large  
 ' horn. Each separated part was examined both  
 ' by myself and those assisting at the operations.  
 ' The snails were then shut up in a jar, covered  
 ' with a paper full of holes, that the internal air  
 ' might change, and not become prejudicial to  
 ' them.

' On the 28. of August, I found the paper torn,  
 ' and some of the snails sticking to the outside of  
 ' the vessel. They all appeared when put on  
 ' grafts, but reproduction had made unequal pro-  
 ' gress, for only a tubercle appeared on the trunk  
 ' of some, while in others reproduction was com-  
 ' plete.

' I sent many of the snails to the editor of the  
 ' journal, with a letter, in which I requested him  
 ' to invite our critic to examine my proofs. In  
 ' the next journal, I had the satisfaction to see an  
 ' answer,

' answer, where they acknowledged themselves  
 ' convinced that it was a physical truth, which,  
 ' misled by ill made experiments, they considered  
 ' a prodigy not well ascertained.  
 ' I should not have thought of decapitating  
 ' more of these reptiles, and had not the progress of  
 ' reproduction in several, and in the order of va-  
 ' rious parts, seemed strange, and this induced  
 ' me to investigate the principles on which such  
 ' varieties depend. The constancy preserved, as  
 ' I know, from comparing my experiments with  
 ' those of your Reverence, M. Bonnet and Se-  
 ' nebier, convinced me that they were not *lusus*  
 ' nature, but depending on fixed and invariable  
 ' laws. But were these laws regulated by the  
 ' site of the cut, or by its greater or less obliqui-  
 ' ty? This is one of the questions which occurs  
 ' in your Prodrómo.

' In the end of last February, I decapitated  
 ' twelve of the same snails as before: but there  
 ' was a considerable difference in the nature of  
 ' the cuts. In one half, it was vertical, but a  
 ' little farther from the large horn than for-  
 ' merly; in the other half of the number, it was  
 ' made more or less oblique, leaving one large  
 ' horn of some untouched. All were then con-  
 ' fined in a vessel. Having examined them in a  
 ' month, I found five heads, however, the other  
 ' seven had formed their operculum. On these,  
 ' therefore,

therefore, my experiments were to be made : but, recollecting Sig. Plateretti's observation, that violence done the animals for this purpose is fatal, and frequently makes the experiment fail, I delayed until July, and then broke the operculum ; and, having put them on grass, I found the whole alive, but the reproduction unequally advanced as in the first. Only two with the vertical cut survived ; one horn was renewed on a whitish globular substance, projecting from the trunk of one ; and the head of the other seemed to be completely regenerated. The two large horns were of different lengths. In the five cut obliquely, reproduction was a shapeless lump, which had not yet acquired its proper configuration. The horns of some were regenerated, and in various states of advancement ; while, in others, they did not even bud.

As I remarked the same variety in these experiments that occurred in the first, when the sections were similar, I inclined to think the inequality of the productive power, acting differently on different individuals, as well as its inequality of action on different parts of the head, were independent of the cut. But reflecting that the laws of such phenomena ought not to be determined by a few, but by numerous and repeated observations, I conceived it better



‘ to suspend my judgment, and to multiply the experiments.

‘ Towards the end of last summer, along with Sig. D. Mongiardino, I decapitated a great number of snails, diversifying the cut in many different ways. It was vertical; one line, or farther, behind the large horns; more or less oblique; a line, or farther, before the large horns; and only half the head of others was cut off. Ten died, and the rest, examined within these some days, were alive. But the reproductive power has little activity during this cold weather; and it will probably be a long time before I am able to satisfy my curiosity.

‘ With the most profound respect, I am your Reverence’s most humble and obliged servant,  
‘ GIO. BATTISTA PRATOLONGO. Genoa, 10 January 1783.’

To Sig. the Abbé Lazaro Spallanzani, royal Professor in the university of Pavia, MICHELE GIRARDI.

‘ My dear Friend, — I consider your request, to repeat the experiments you have made on terrestrial snails, as an evidence of that impartial anxiety which actuates you for discovering the truth amidst the mysterious arcana of nature. Thus your observations will always triumph; for they are supported on such a basis as to dread neither the injury of time nor envy. It seems,

' seems, by a fatal destiny, that the luminous and  
 ' useful discoveries of every period have been  
 ' doomed to meet with bitter opponents, who,  
 ' though unable to oppose those beneficent rays  
 ' diffusing around and dispelling darkness, yet  
 ' have sometimes tended to retard the advance-  
 ' ment of science. If I am not mistaken, this ob-  
 ' struction to human knowledge springs from  
 ' two sources; from presumption, which is com-  
 ' monly the child of envy, and from pride.—  
 ' From presumption; because some, who disdain  
 ' observation, know not, and cannot persuade  
 ' themselves that the things which surpass the  
 ' bounds of their limited understanding are true :  
 ' hence, unacquainted with what is wonderful and  
 ' uncommon in the admirable works of nature,  
 ' they deny all which they are ignorant of.  
 ' —From envy, on the other hand, because there  
 ' are certain despicable men, who will sit on their  
 ' chairs, and, conceiving themselves very learned,  
 ' can ill abide that others know more than them-  
 ' selves : then erecting a tribunal, and, incapable  
 ' of doing any thing else, they imperiously con-  
 ' demn whatever opposes them, or interrupts  
 ' their progress to the summit of that glory, which  
 ' they imagine themselves alone entitled to en-  
 ' joy.  
 ' But among these, I certainly cannot number  
 ' M. Adanson, Wartel, Cotte, and so many  
 ' more,

more, and, in particular, Mr Adolphus Murray, a learned and candid man, and my particular friend. Although I do believe, that they controverted your discovery, from not having repeated the experiments with accuracy, still it is more rational to suppose they have been made on snails which want the reproductive faculty, as we have often observed. Such are the persons that alone merit an account of this singular and admirable reproduction, since it would be vain to address others, who neither can nor will be persuaded.

Before transcribing the result of my observations, permit me to observe, that I have anatomised snails as much as possible, and especially the head, which is much more compound than any one could suppose. But it is extremely difficult to accomplish this, while alive, as, whoever takes the trouble of examination, will easily find. It is equally difficult to make observations on them in their own proper habitations, for they are there so much shrunk and contracted within themselves: and, if the observer endeavours to examine them, when stretched out of the shell, they contract and retire so quickly, that the anterior part of the foot is instantly turned out, and the head concealed as if in the centre of the body. And the difficulty still augments, if we add that tenacious viscous matter copiously diffused,

‘ diffused, and the great muscular power, by  
 ‘ means of which they contract more forcibly,  
 ‘ whenever touched by the knife.

‘ To facilitate every thing as much as possible,  
 ‘ in my dissections, I practised three methods.  
 ‘ One proposed by the celebrated Swammerdam,  
 ‘ to whom we owe so much on the subject, was,  
 ‘ by allowing the snails to die in water; another,  
 ‘ by taking away the shell, and thus leaving them  
 ‘ to perish; and a third, by putting them in cold  
 ‘ water, and then boiling it a little. By these  
 ‘ different methods, they frequently remain with  
 ‘ the neck and head, and sometimes also the  
 ‘ horns, stretched out, in this manner affording  
 ‘ me opportunities for convenient examination.

‘ When a snail extended, and carrying along  
 ‘ its habitation, is viewed, or when dead, in a si-  
 ‘ milar position, a long neck, terminating in the  
 ‘ head, appears. Two larger and two smaller  
 ‘ horns rise from the head. A minute globe is  
 ‘ at the extremity of each, and in the two larger  
 ‘ is a black point, called the eye. Around the  
 ‘ posterior part of the neck is a circular promi-  
 ‘ nence, called the lap, or collar; on the right of  
 ‘ which appears a hole evidently for respiration;  
 ‘ and in it the intestine, for discharging the feces  
 ‘ also terminates. A glandular shagreen skin,  
 ‘ variously coloured according to the different  
 ‘ species, covers the upper part of the neck, and  
 ‘ tail;

' tail; and an extremely thin membrane covers  
 ' the under part, with which the snail advances,  
 ' and is called the foot. In the middle are lon-  
 ' gitudinal lines, and on the sides transverse ones,  
 ' indicating the tendons of the muscles below,  
 ' serving for action and re-action. This anterior  
 ' and extreme part of the foot contracts with the  
 ' lower mandible, leaving a little vacancy, pro-  
 ' bably that the motions of the mandible may be  
 ' more free and quick. At the root of the small  
 ' horns are the lips; and when these are opened,  
 ' the teeth, tongue, and cavity of the mouth, are  
 ' seen. Under the right large horn, and perhaps  
 ' a little behind and near the foot, is observed a  
 ' small white mark amidst the tubercles of the  
 ' skin, which is the female vagina. And, as all  
 ' snails are hermaphrodites, the male apparatus  
 ' for generation also proceeds from the left side,  
 ' plate 7, fig. 1, b. This mark, which even the  
 ' most practised observers can with difficulty dis-  
 ' cover, becomes turgid at the season of their  
 ' amours. More than once I have had the good  
 ' fortune to surprize them in copulation, and see  
 ' their mode of proceeding. After they approach  
 ' each other, it is entertaining to behold how  
 ' they mutually examine and re-examine with  
 ' the head and neck, before uniting, and seem  
 ' as if by turns to excite each other and invite to  
 ' copulation. Then, having disposed themselves  
 ' for amorous intercourse, the male apparatus,  
 ' turgid

"turgid with cerulean blood, and excluded from  
 "the head, and mutually introduced into the fe-  
 "male aperture, penetrating deep within; and  
 "they are entwined in such a manner, for two  
 "hours, or even more sometimes, that they will  
 "sooner suffer the rupture of the male organs  
 "than desert from copulation. By a forced se-  
 "paration, it is easy to observe how the canals,  
 "from which the male organs issue, surround  
 "and embrace the origin of the appendage to the  
 "uterus or vagina, and, in that situation, how  
 "much they are distended with a cerulean blood.  
 "All this may be viewed without the aid of  
 "the scalpel; but it becomes necessary, when we  
 "desire to examine the internal organization, and  
 "particularly that of the head, which is the chief  
 "object of our research. On longitudinally cut-  
 "ting and folding down half the skin which co-  
 "vers the neck, head, and cutaneous muscle,  
 "there is, in the first place, observed, besides a  
 "fine arachnoid membrane on the extreme an-  
 "terior part, a prominent circular globe, compre-  
 "hending the two mandibles, the mouth, tongue;  
 "and also the origin of the oesophagus, plate 7,  
 "fig. 1. b. b. The upper mandible is cartilagi-  
 "nous, and forms the palate within: from the  
 "higher part, a femoral, offensive tooth projects,  
 "which in colour and shape resembles one of the  
 "tortoise shell combs, were by our ladies for or-  
 "

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‘ nament on their hair. The tooth is an aggre-  
 ‘ gate of six or seven *dentes incisores*, pointed be-  
 ‘ low, but so united as to form only a single  
 ‘ tooth. The jaw, or rather gum or under lip,  
 ‘ has no teeth ; it is separate from two soft sub-  
 ‘ stances of a dark colour towards the œsopha-  
 ‘ gus, which confine the tongue. The mouth is  
 ‘ bounded before and behind by the teeth and  
 ‘ œsophagus ; above and below by the palate  
 ‘ and tongue.

‘ The tongue is not free ; it is bridled and  
 ‘ united to the under jaw : two furrowed carti-  
 ‘ laginous membranes form its substance ; the  
 ‘ upper connected with that which covers the  
 ‘ under jaw, and, curving behind, descends with  
 ‘ an inflexion, and comes forward under the  
 ‘ lower membrane ; then receding, it terminates  
 ‘ in a small dark globular appendage, which pro-  
 ‘ jects from the under part of the ovular globe,  
 ‘ fig. 2. d. This appendage contains a white  
 ‘ longish curvated mass, which, being moveable  
 ‘ and connected with the anterior part of the  
 ‘ tongue, where the œsophagus commences, does  
 ‘ not seem to be placed there by nature without  
 ‘ some particular use. The lower membrane of  
 ‘ the tongue, which is much thicker than the  
 ‘ upper, convex above, semicircular and hollow  
 ‘ below ; and is rooted in the fore part of the  
 ‘ under jaw, and terminates free where the upper  
 ‘ membrane

“ membrane is inflected behind. This peculiar  
 “ structure of the tongue seems to supply the de-  
 “ fect of teeth ; whence mastication is performed  
 “ by the action and resistance between the palate  
 “ and tongue.

“ Where the mouth and palate terminate be-  
 “ hind, the œsophagus commences in the higher  
 “ and posterior part of the ovular globe, and be-  
 “ tween the two salival ducts, which unite to the  
 “ globe by penetrating the cavity of the mouth.  
 “ It is very narrow at the origin, but dilates fur-  
 “ ther down. It is of a light ash colour, and  
 “ formed of a thin membrane longitudinally cor-  
 “ rugated, by which means it easily dilates and  
 “ contracts.

“ Above the anterior part of the globe is some-  
 “ times found the brain, of a palish colour, and  
 “ in a manner divided into two lobes, fig. 1, i.  
 “ I say *sometimes*, because the brain of snails is  
 “ moveable, and changes its place according to  
 “ the motion of the animal : at times advancing  
 “ before, and at times receding behind the ovular  
 “ globe above the œsophagus, especially when  
 “ the snail stretches out of its shell. This is ef-  
 “ fected by means of muscles traversing the sides  
 “ of the brain, and admirably united to it by se-  
 “ veral connected interwoven filaments. The  
 “ brain is but about a line in breadth, and not  
 “ more than one and a half in length ; larger,

T 2

“ however,



however, in proportion to the size of the snail,  
 It comprehends numerous nerves; and al-  
 though they have been accurately described by  
 the celebrated Swammerdam, it does not seem  
 totally unconnected with our inquiry to enu-  
 merate them here: observing however, if there  
 should be any trivial difference, that the fault is  
 not to be ascribed to another, but I will rather  
 be content that it is attributed to my inferior  
 dexterity in examining objects so minute; and  
 more particularly, as, in the course of this in-  
 vestigation, thinking myself able to distinguish  
 the objects without any hazard of error, I have  
 used no magnifier to increase them above their  
 natural size.

Of the nerves that divaricate into the head,  
 some proceed immediately from the brain, others  
 by means of a ganglion formed of the lobes of  
 the brain itself, which they invest according to  
 its different position, sometimes the anterior  
 portion of the ovular globe, and sometimes the  
 œsophagus. They are little larger than a millet  
 seed below and also behind the globe. Fol-  
 lowing the order of dissection, we shall first  
 speak of the nerves of the brain, and then of  
 those of the ganglion.

In the brain originate twelve nerves, that is,  
 six on each side, which I shall call six pair:  
 some run behind, and others before. The  
 first,

first, which we may denominate the muscular, originating in the lobes of the brain, proceed back to insert themselves into the muscle *retractor* of the ovular globe; the other five are distributed before, and are the upper and under labial, the mandibular, the optic larger and smaller. The upper labial arise in the anterior part of the brain, and, traversing the sides of the oval, divide before into two conspicuous filaments; one proceeds to the higher part of the upper lips, and the other terminates in the lower part of them. The mandibular nerves originate in the posterior part of the brain, and, proceeding back, are inserted in the ovular globe, in the vicinity of the salival ducts, diverging into the mouth, throat, and palate. The optic nerves issue from the sides of the brain, and, by means of either membrane, are attached to the muscle *motor* of the larger horns, and terminate in a pyriform bulb at their extremity. The smaller optics, or more properly nerves, of the small horns also arise from the sides of the brain, in the vicinity of the larger ones. They unite to the muscle of the smaller horns; and, divided into several filaments, proceed to terminate in the extremity of the horns, in the cutaneous muscle and the extremity of the under jaw.

T 3

The

' The name *smaller optics*, which I give these  
 ' nerves, may to some appear too arbitrary, and  
 ' perhaps be attended with inconvenience, was  
 ' not adopted from the property of the nerves  
 ' themselves, but from their affinity with those of  
 ' the large horns, which are commonly called  
 ' optic nerves. They had this denomination  
 ' ever since the celebrated Swammerdam, with  
 ' the aid of powerful microscopes, was able to  
 ' find the organs of vision in the black point  
 ' projecting from the extremity, namely, the  
 ' uvea, the three humours, and the chrystal-  
 ' line lens invested by its membrane. I will not  
 ' deny this admirable structure, which it would  
 ' not be easy for another to confirm; but my ob-  
 ' servations induce me to believe, that if the or-  
 ' gan of vision is in these horns, that of touch is  
 ' still more certainly there: and this is the more  
 ' evident, as the organ of touch is most sensible,  
 ' while vision is weak and confused, which gives  
 ' very good reason for uncertainty. I made nu-  
 ' merous experiments with a view to remove the  
 ' doubt, but they all concurred in increasing it.  
 ' When the horns were fully stretched, and the  
 ' black points conspicuous, I brought various  
 ' substances close to them, but they gave no in-  
 ' dication of certain and distinct vision: because  
 ' I have seldom observed that snails either deviat-  
 ' ed from their route, or so much as bent the  
 large

' large horns to avoid the substances almost in  
 ' contact with them. And what further added  
 ' to my doubt was never being able, with the  
 ' bright light of a candle, or concentrated rays of  
 ' a lens, to make the horns alter their direction,  
 ' unless when forced to retract by too intense  
 ' heat. Although, by approximating a luminous or  
 ' opaque body, they have afforded some symptom  
 ' of vision, repeated experiments, which are ad-  
 ' verse to it, have confirmed my doubts, or at least  
 ' made me suspect, if these do see, that their sight  
 ' is excessively obscure and indistinct. But as  
 ' their defect is very great in this, so are they  
 ' most sensible in touch. Thus, when naturally  
 ' stretched out, the horns are carried well extend-  
 ' ed before them, that they may be warned of the  
 ' slightest obstacle, just as a blind man is warn-  
 ' ed by his staff to deviate from obstructions in  
 ' his way. It is sufficient to behold snails advan-  
 ' cing to be convinced of this. They feel or  
 ' grope along; no substance opposed stops their  
 ' progress; but the horns unexpectedly strike  
 ' against it, and then are suddenly retracted:  
 ' Next, being extended anew, they seem, by  
 ' touching and retouching, to renew the exami-  
 ' nation; and, assuming the touch as the rule of  
 ' direction after considering the obstacle, deter-  
 ' mine whether to deviate from their route, if it is  
 ' great, or to continue if it is inconsiderable. If

T 4

' the

' the fact be such as it appears, it may reasonably  
 ' be inferred, that snails have no eyes, or, if they  
 ' have, nature has formed them of minute and  
 ' almost unperceptible parts ; whence objects are  
 ' seen obscurely and confused : but in compensa-  
 ' tion for the dullness of this sense substituting  
 ' the exquisiteness of touch, by which they can  
 ' distinguish these same objects. Therefore the  
 ' use of the globe on both large and small horns  
 ' may be easily comprehended : namely, that the  
 ' points of contact may increase by the surface  
 ' being enlarged ; and the exquisiteness of touch  
 ' thus rendered greater for the use and defence  
 ' of snails. But this is only a simple conjecture  
 ' of mine, started for my own information among  
 ' many others which you will observe.

' Let us return to the organization of the  
 ' brain. We have seen that its lobes compose the  
 ' ganglion, as the annular protuberance is form-  
 ' ed by the lobes of the human brain. Many  
 ' nerves proceed from this ganglion, some for-  
 ' wards, others laterally ; some backwards ; and,  
 ' lastly, others below. We shall treat only of  
 ' those proceeding forward on the head, as parti-  
 ' cularly belonging to our subject. From the an-  
 ' terior part of the middle proceeds a nerve that  
 ' advances in a straight line to insert itself in the  
 ' posterior and under part of the oval globe.  
 ' From the sides issue two bundles of nerves, one  
 ' from

' from each, which spread on the cutaneous  
 ' muscle in many directions ; some advancing to  
 ' the root of the large horns ; and in the right  
 ' side are also inserted in the prepuce and vagi-  
 ' na. From numerous ramifications of the lower  
 ' nerves, some proceed forward, and are lost in  
 ' the anterior extremity of the foot.

' In the last place are the muscles of the head,  
 ' consisting of the retractor of the oval globe, the  
 ' two retractors of the large horns, and two  
 ' mandibles, which all issue from the muscles  
 ' that proceed from the spiral column. The re-  
 ' tractor of the globe, which is the largest of all,  
 ' proceeds to insert itself in the posterior part of  
 ' the globe below. Those of the large horns are  
 ' tinged with dark yellow before, and end in a  
 ' small oblong flattened hollow body, that ter-  
 ' minates towards the extremity of the large  
 ' horns. The small retractors pass by the sides  
 ' of the brain, to which they adhere by means of  
 ' the optic nerves ; and thence dividing in two  
 ' towards the extremities, the smaller passes to the  
 ' extremity of the smaller horns, and the larger  
 ' disperses in the muscle of the skin below. The  
 ' mandibular nerves, ascending in several different  
 ' and distinct bundles mutually inclined towards  
 ' each other, proceed to unite at the apex of the  
 ' under mandible, being equally distributed in the  
 ' cutaneous muscle.

' Besides

Besides these are others which, although small, and resembling filaments, are very elegant, and deserve to be distinguished. These, which I shall name *fræna*, are seen in the upper and under part of the oval globe. The upper bridles are simple, Fig. 1. c. but the under triple. The former are on the sides of the globe, in the vicinity of the salival ducts, and terminate in the upper lip. The under *fræna* are divisible into large, smaller, and smallest, or long, shorter, and shortest. The long, Fig. 2. e e, originate under the ovular globe, where the muscular retractor is inserted, and terminate within the small horns. The short begin a little before the long, about the middle of the globe: thence diverging and joining the long, they advance to terminate in the right side of the same horns, Fig. 2. f. The smallest and shortest originate before the short, and terminate in a right line in the cutaneous muscle of the under jaw, Fig. 2. g. The contraction of these bridles draws back the lips, and brings forward the globe; which action is so important, that it would be difficult to explain how, without the bridles, the mandibles could be brought so much forward as to be on a level with the lips, which is particularly evident when the snail feeds, and especially when endeavouring to gnaw a bit unsuitably hard.

After

‘ After speaking of the admirable structure of  
 ‘ the head, I shall proceed to the result of my  
 ‘ last experiments on snails, such as they have  
 ‘ been since 1772 and 1773, with the same con-  
 ‘ sequences which you was the first to announce  
 ‘ in your *Prodromo sopra le reproduzioni animali*,  
 ‘ and have so accurately described. The expe-  
 ‘ riments I made were on some of the snails cal-  
 ‘ led by the celebrated Linnæus, *Helices Poma-*  
 ‘ *tia*, *Itala*, *Lusitanica*, *Zonaria*, *Arbustorum*,  
 ‘ *Nemorales Lucorum*, *Grisea*, &c. On the first  
 ‘ of May 1782, I cut off the larger horns of  
 ‘ twenty-four of those which you gave me to car-  
 ‘ ry from Reggio, and from an equal number,  
 ‘ both the large and small. From twenty-four, I  
 ‘ cut the extremity of the tail, and as many were  
 ‘ deprived of the head. A slice above two lines  
 ‘ broad and ten long was also cut from the side  
 ‘ of the foot of other twenty-four. These various  
 ‘ mutilations were repeated the same day on the  
 ‘ like number of the snails of Parma, of the same  
 ‘ species as the Reggian. The former were dis-  
 ‘ tinguished by the letter A, and the latter by B;  
 ‘ and all the rest being also distinguished, they  
 ‘ were put into vessels. The horns had been cut  
 ‘ off with sharp scissars, while full stretched, some  
 ‘ at the root, others through the middle. The  
 ‘ head, tail, and foot were divided with a sharp  
 ‘ knife, when well extended from the shell on a  
 ‘ hard



‘ hard plane, thus to be secure of the amputa-  
 ‘ tion, and avoid the inconvenience often attend-  
 ‘ ing it, more especially when performed with  
 ‘ scissars (1). The head was severed about a line  
 ‘ and a half behind the large horns.

‘ I have uniformly remarked a cerulean fluid  
 ‘ come from the horns, particularly the larger,  
 ‘ which bedews the dividing blade. This fluid is  
 ‘ easily observed, if the operation is performed in  
 ‘ water, and most perceptible if the water be il-  
 ‘ luminated by the bright rays of the sun. Not  
 ‘ only do we then discover that the liquid is  
 ‘ greenish, and is the blood flowing in the ves-  
 ‘ sels of these animals, but also the quantity and  
 ‘ force with which it spouts. I have sometimes  
 ‘ seen it continue several seconds, then stop, and  
 ‘ again spring from the same wound in greater  
 ‘ abundance. When the extremity of the horns  
 ‘ is cut off, they frequently appear flaccid, faded,  
 ‘ and fallen down on the lips, and their inability  
 ‘ to swell and extend, seems to indicate, that  
 ‘ one is not far from the truth who supposes,  
 ‘ that to this fluid alone the protrusion and ex-  
 ‘ tension of the horns are owing : because, I  
 ‘ have found nothing in all the external organi-  
 ‘ zation, by my utmost exertions, I have never  
 ‘ succeeded

(1) The same precaution has laudibly been observed  
 by Dr. Vincenzo Plateretti, as is mentioned in the *Scelta*  
*di Opuscoli di Milano.*

' succeeded in finding either muscle, tendon, or  
 ' cartilage, destined for that office. The fluid  
 ' issues in greater quantity on amputation of the  
 ' head, in less, on mutilations of the tail or foot,  
 ' and it is mixed with a viscous tenacious matter.  
 ' The separated horns exhibit no signs of life, or  
 ' they are very short and feeble. It is not so with  
 ' the head : for, six or seven minutes after am-  
 ' putation, it displays unequivocal sensibility when  
 ' irritated. Soon after decapitation, the snails  
 ' contract and retire into the shell, but some re-  
 ' turn in a little. In the place of amputation, now  
 ' much contracted, a small white mark appears ;  
 ' then they travel about as vivacious as if the  
 ' head had not been cut off.

' The facility of motion and liveliness of snails  
 ' would perhaps induce one to think the head  
 ' had not been properly severed, and this might  
 ' in general be adopted as an indisputable cer-  
 ' tainty. But every doubt is dispelled by the  
 ' most scrupulous dissection. In the separated  
 ' head, we behold the horns, jaws, teeth, tongue,  
 ' and its appendages, all the nerves, muscles, and  
 ' bridles, the extremity of the œsophagus, the  
 ' salival ducts, the prepuce, and also the vagina.  
 ' Thus there is no question that the complete  
 ' head has been cut off.

' All the snails soon contract and retire within  
 ' their dwellings. There they form that white  
 ' tenacious

‘ tenacious operculum which is produced by  
 ‘ viscous matter that they generate. By this  
 ‘ they are defended from external injury ; but it  
 ‘ is not more advantageous to them than detri-  
 ‘ mental to one desirous of viewing them for ac-  
 ‘ curate observation. To do so, I have always  
 ‘ endeavoured, as much as possible, not to aggra-  
 ‘ vate the effects of such an immense wound as  
 ‘ they have received, by any additional irritation,  
 ‘ such as breaking the shell behind, and some-  
 ‘ times, if obstinate to appear, pricking them,  
 ‘ which are not the actions of a masterly hand,  
 ‘ or of one accustomed to similar experiments ;  
 ‘ and it is actually not uncommon, that those  
 ‘ stimulated in this manner die. But, to accom-  
 ‘ plish my object, I endeavour to entice them  
 ‘ out, so that they may appear spontaneously,  
 ‘ which has always succeeded on putting them in  
 ‘ warm water, or exposing them to the soft  
 ‘ showers of spring or summer ; then they are na-  
 ‘ turally induced to come into the open air.

‘ In those deprived of the large horns, or one  
 ‘ half, I have never observed any thing new for  
 ‘ ten, fifteen, even twenty days, nay, most com-  
 ‘ monly a month. In the place of amputation,  
 ‘ a globule arose, which, becoming larger in time,  
 ‘ exhibited a black point in the centre, exactly  
 ‘ corresponding to that in the original horns.  
 ‘ Two and more frequently three months have  
 ‘ elapsed

‘ elapsed before both the large and small horns  
‘ were repaired.

‘ At first, the regenerated horns are of a pale  
‘ white colour, and the skin is much more deli-  
‘ cate than that of the head. They gradually  
‘ acquire the proper hue, and form a whole so  
‘ equal, that it is very difficult, even impossible, to  
‘ distinguish the snails that have not lost the  
‘ horns. Dissection proves that the renewed  
‘ horns perfectly resemble the first; they lengthen,  
‘ enlarge, and are endowed with all the sensibili-  
‘ ty of the first.

‘ In the same manner as the horns, are the tail  
‘ and foot reproduced. I have remarked, that  
‘ they regenerate with an equal continuation of  
‘ the substance, and are sooner completed than  
‘ the horns. These parts are also of pale white,  
‘ which soon disappears, and no traces of ampu-  
‘ tation remain.

‘ What is observed in the horns, tail, and  
‘ foot, is seen in the head, but with the following  
‘ difference. In a month, or about that time, a  
‘ globe projects from the centre, sometimes it is  
‘ towards one side, or, instead of a single globe,  
‘ two will appear, one on each side; the produc-  
‘ tion of them is not always alike. Two, three,  
‘ and often four months have been required for  
‘ reproducing the head from one in the middle,  
‘ and the same from two lateral globes uniting.  
‘ But

‘ But from one lateral, I have almost uniformly  
 ‘ seen an irregular production ; for a large horn,  
 ‘ surpassing the natural size, frequently grows  
 ‘ from the extremity, and still preserves the pro-  
 ‘ per organization. In my possession, are several  
 ‘ snails which have lived a year without this irre-  
 ‘ gular production undergoing any change.

‘ The renovation of the head corresponds with  
 ‘ that of the parts already described. At first,  
 ‘ the skin is smooth and not shagreened ; it is al-  
 ‘ so of a lighter ash colour, and thus distinguish-  
 ‘ ed from the old skin, so that the new head ap-  
 ‘ pears wonderfully applied to the original neck.  
 ‘ Many of my friends beheld these reproductions  
 ‘ with amazement ; and you, along with the  
 ‘ learned and celebrated Sig. Angelo Mazza, our  
 ‘ common friend, when you was so kind as to  
 ‘ visit me last autumn. The difference of colour,  
 ‘ which continues several months, afterwards  
 ‘ changes, and there is no distinction between  
 ‘ the new and old skin, but a faint furrow at the  
 ‘ place of amputation, which also disappears in  
 ‘ time.

‘ Dissection proves the exact resemblance of  
 ‘ the reproduced to the original heads, because  
 ‘ all the parts found in the one are found in the  
 ‘ other ; and what is more singular, although  
 ‘ there is some difference between the colour of  
 ‘ the neck and the head, all the internal parts are  
 ‘ so

‘ so connected, equal and correspondent in colour, symmetry, and consistence, that it is impossible to discriminate those reproduced.

‘ Whenever the head is finished, the snail uses the renovated parts to repair the long abstinence it has been forced to undergo. During the beginning of October last year, I profited by a gentle shower to examine all the animals that issued from the shell. One of those people was with me who are naturally incredulous, and never less disposed to believe any thing than what borders on the marvellous. Not only was he obliged to acknowledge that the head was really reproduced, but he observed one endeavouring, with its prominent teeth, to gnaw a particle of bran, partly adhering to the shell, and in an inconvenient place. It was entertaining to see, in the snail’s exertions, the repeated action and re-action of the open mouth, the soft lips, tongue, and teeth, turning the particle a thousand ways, until it effected separation, and made itself a savoury mouthful.

‘ But this admirable reproduction does not succeed in all snails, and much less in those corresponding to the great snails of Florence, nor ordinarily in the small ones called garden snails, and especially those found in orchards adorned with beautiful colours. My experiments were successful on the *helix pomatia*, *itala*, *zonaria*, *memoralis*, *lucorum*. Of more than three hun-

'dred, which I have at different times decapitated,  
 'ed, some are still alive without any regeneration,  
 'tion, and some with an imperfect and irregular  
 'production, and the head of others is completely  
 'renewed. I particularly remarked, that,  
 'in the greater part that died, decapitation had  
 'been improperly performed, or that it had been  
 'about four lines behind the large horns; consequently  
 'a portion of the male organs, the appendages  
 'to the uterus, or the uterus itself, had been cut off  
 'besides the head. Perhaps some of those that have  
 'not reproduced, or reproduced imperfectly, are of  
 'too advanced age, and their fibres have lost the  
 'necessary softness, flexibility, and vigour; and,  
 'by induration, cannot extend to adopt the proper  
 'form for perfect reproduction.

'All that I have hitherto remarked happened  
 'equally to the snails of Reggio as those of  
 'Parma, so that I have never observed any thing  
 'deserving particular consideration in the latter;  
 'which proves that snails of the same species  
 'universally afford the same reproductions, if  
 'experiments are correct.

'But it is time to terminate this long letter,  
 'which has undoubtedly exceeded the limits of  
 'your patience. Comprising the whole, you will  
 'only see a confirmation of what you cautiously  
 'advanced in your Prodomo, namely, that snails  
 'possess the property of reproducing mutilated  
 'parts,

“ parts, that is, the horns, the foot, tail, and  
 “ head. When observations are accurate, and  
 “ proceed from a philosopher such as you, who,  
 “ in these matters,

“ *Siete maestro di color che fanno,*

“ and using the requisite precautions, they should  
 “ easily succeed every where, and most certainly  
 “ do succeed.

“ I send you these observations, not from being  
 “ worthy to approach you : I know their insigni-  
 “ ficance, and you also will be sensible of it; but  
 “ because you have desired it, and that you may  
 “ see how earnest I am to give you satisfaction.  
 “ Therefore, be assured that my only anxiety is  
 “ to convince you what esteem and friendship I  
 “ bear towards you.’

FIG. I.

- a a The shagreen skin,
- b b The ovular globe,
- c c The upper fræna,
- d The mouth and teeth,
- e e The œsophagus and sali-  
val ducts at the fides,
- f The large horns,
- g The muscle,
- h The genital organ,
- i The brain,
- j The left lobe,

FIG. II.

- a a The skin,
- b b The ovular globe,
- c c The muscle retractor,
- d The globular appendage  
of the tongue,
- e e The long under fræna,
- f The short,
- g The shortest,
- h The muscle of the large  
horn, (horn,
- i The muscle of the small
- l The mandibular muscle.



## ARTICLE III.—REFLECTIONS.

FROM the numerous facts in the preceding article, impartial readers will at once perceive that when I first announced, in my Prodomo, the renovation of the head of the snail, I only laid open to the philosophical world an incontestible truth before unknown ; and that those authors, who have trusted to controvert my experiments by theirs, have been deceived.

The reproduction which Roos obtained must have been provided with a new brain, a portion of the œsophagus, lips, teeth, jaws, and tongue.

One of M. Lavoisier's snails regenerated a new head exactly resembling the old. The brain must also have been reproduced, because decapitation took place behind the four horns.

No less decisive and judicious were the experiments of M. Turgot, Tenon, and Herissant. It is specifically said, some of the snails were completely deprived of the head.

Muller's experiments wonderfully correspond with those of the Parisian academicians ; and when I name Muller, I speak of one of the first German naturalists. The same diligence, sagacity, and circumspection, which, besides the eminent knowledge that characterises his celebrated works,

Plate 7.

Vol. 2 Page 308.



works, are also distinguished in his judicious memoir on snails.

Father Scarella, a learned naturalist and mathematician, whose death Brescia has still to lament, had the head of a snail, decapitated behind the large horns, so completely renewed, that, except in colour, it could not be distinguished from the old one.

Schaeffer, whose name alone is a splendid eulogium, does not mention the exact place where the cut was made; therefore it is necessary to consult his dissertations in German, which I have not seen; but he expressly declares, that his experiments and observations confirmed mine in the most ample manner. He also observes, that he has perhaps extended his curiosity a little further than me, probably alluding to the reparation of the foot. However I had also witnessed the reproduction of that part which some call the tail, that is, the posterior extremity of the foot; and I have even obtained reparation of the whole foot, or the part on which the animal rests in its progression. This is said in the *Prodromo*, p. 70, and repeated in the first memoir. But I rejoice to see the same reproduction confirmed by a naturalist no less expert, such as M. Lavoisier.

The snails deprived of part of the neck, by the Abbé Troilo, perished; but those that had lost the head, and no more, survived, and repaired it

U 3 completely.

completely. One most convincing proof was, that the snails began to feed.

The same evidence was given by one of the snails decollated by M. Senebier; an illustrious Genevan, who has published an excellent treatise on *The Art of Observation*. His precepts have been enhanced by example; for he has enriched philosophy with the best experimental inquiries, and lately with *Memoirs on the influence of solar light on the three kingdoms of Nature*. There could be no doubt of complete decapitation, for he dissected the severed heads.

It cannot be supposed that the experiments of his countryman were less convincing, that is, of Bonnet, whose works constitute the delight and admiration of the age. How many precautions did he not adopt, to be beyond the shafts of his adversaries! What precision did he not use to ascertain that the head was severed! What assiduity, care, and diligence, in minutely observing the phenomena of the reproducing head! With what evidence and impartiality does he not demonstrate reproduction! But these important facts will be highly enjoyed by those who consult the memoirs of that philosopher: for I am well aware that any sketch or extract of mine would be but a faint and languid perhelion.

I should still have to speak of the three letters from Sig. Caldani, Pradolongo, and Girardi, did

I not

I not reflect that the learned will better comprehend the import, on perusing the letters themselves. Sig. Caldani observes, that only four of his decollated snails were alive 27 September 1782. He afterwards wrote to me, 19 April 1783: 'Of the four remaining snails, three died during the late cold. The fourth, which was the largest of the whole, has for four days shewn me a very fine head.'

Sig. Girardi observes, that the moment the horns, particularly the larger, are divided, a stream of cerulean fluid escapes. Both he and I explain this phenomenon, but we disagree in the explanation. In my memoir, I have supposed the fluid first generated in the glandular parts of the horns: he, on the contrary, thinks it is the blood of the animal, or a fluid analogous, that spouts from the divided horn. On better examination of the fact, it appears that he is right and I am wrong. Within the horns, there is truly a large vessel, which even extends over part of the head, full of that light cerulean fluid; and, when the horns are cut asunder, it becomes flaccid and almost disappears, by discharging the fluid whose colour renders it visible.

Passing through Parma last November, I had the pleasure of embracing my most esteemed friend in his own house. He shewed me several snails mutilated during the preceding spring, and

the separation had gone far beyond the head. I was anxious to learn the consequence, which he was pleased to communicate in the following paragraph.

‘ I decapitated the snails that you saw on the 11<sup>th</sup> of May last year, fully four lines behind the large horns. In the severed head were not only the muscles, and all the nerves connected to the oval globe, the salival ducts, brain, &c. but behind them the anterior portion of the male organs, and more than half the appendages of the uterus, including the angular part of the ovary, so that I thought it impossible that these reptiles could reproduce the mutilations. After keeping one, in which the cut had even gone further, a long time in my hand, and immersing it long in water, within these few days it appeared stretching out its neck. The rudiments of the large horns were evident at the extremity, and below them the lips and mouth. Almost discrediting my senses, I was strongly tempted to dissect the snail to see the internal reproduction; but the external parts being incomplete, I resolved to defer my examination. I have since kept it shut up in the same box where you saw it, that I may discover in future what perfection the external parts will attain. Parma,  
13 January 1784.’

It

It must be observed, that a certain degree of heat is required for reproduction, and not less than  $61^{\circ}$ . Reproduction is finally nothing but a new generation, with this single inconsiderable distinction, that in ordinary generation an organised whole originates and unfolds, while in reproduction only a part of that whole is developed. The same conditions requisite for the origin of the whole are required for the origin of a part, and among these conditions is heat. In man, quadrupeds, and most other warm blooded animals, the foetus originates at any season, because it is matured in the body of the mother, where there is always a certain degree of heat. Birds may hatch their eggs in winter by means of their heat. It is otherwise with cold animals : they do not and cannot propagate except in warm weather ; for during the rest of the year they are in such a situation from cold, that, to judge by external appearances, we should rather say they were dead than alive. Thus it is with most insects, worms and reptiles, among which last, snails ought to be numbered. They neither copulate nor generate except in summer. Shut up in their calcareous dwellings, and the mouth covered with the operculum formed of that viscous gluten exuding from the body, they remain motionless, and in a lethargic state, under the earth all winter. Not only are they incapable of generating



aphides, gall insects, wheel animals, libellulæ, artificial fecundation, and so many more which rather seem possible than true.

How far have those departed from real philosophy, who have called the reproduction in question, before endeavouring to verify it! Prejudices, whether favourable or unfavourable for any system, theory, or hypothesis, are in general fatal to observation. When we interrogate nature, it must be divested of all prejudice and passion, which obscures the fair face of truth; and, with an amiable indifference, we ought to judge equally against others as ourselves. If, on the contrary, we are prepossessed with wishes, distrust, and doubts, we shall behold experiments from the side favouring our desire, and not from that adverse to it. Our opinions will be incorrect; and, instead of adding useful facts to philosophy, we shall increase the number of errors.

EXPERI-

EXPERIMENTS  
ON THE  
REPRODUCTION OF THE HEAD  
OF THE  
*TERRESTRIAL SNAIL,*

BY  
CHARLES BONNET.

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MEMOIR I.

THE only object of publishing my experiments on the reproduction of the head of the snail, is to afford an additional confirmation of the Abbé Spallanzani's beautiful discovery. How much it has been disputed out of Italy, and particularly in France, is well known. There are naturalists  
of

of my acquaintance, who, after decapitating hundreds of snails without success, have conceived themselves entitled to conclude, that the Italian observer had allowed fallacious appearances to impose upon him. One, in a letter to myself, did not hesitate to reproach me for inserting an account of the imaginary discovery in the *Palin-genese*, and for reasoning on it as a fact completely ascertained. It will justly be thought, that these reproaches did not in the least impair that confidence with which the ability and sound reasoning of the Reggian naturalist had inspired me. Besides, he had communicated a full account of his interesting experiments in a course of correspondence, and it was easy for me, only by a trial of the facts, which the learned observer had seen and seen again, to judge of the prodigies he laid before me, and which he soon presented to the public in an Italian Tract 1768, which in the same year was translated into French. But the author having there neglected to detail the precautions he had adopted, to secure his discovery against all dispute, I requested him to publish an account of his method, which he transmitted in a letter from Modena, 11 September 1769, and it was printed in the *Avant Coureur* 30 October. This letter, though perfectly calculated to remove all hesitation, has had but a partial effect; some doubts still remain, and people

ple continue opposing to the Pavian experiments, those which they suppose contradictory or apparently confuting them. I have been induced myself to repeat the learned Professor's investigations, owing to this conflict of experiments, which has continued nine years. From the account which I proceed to give, the impartial public will judge of the confidence that it deserves.

The species of snail on which I operated, is of a middle size, and frequent in the fields or in gardens after a rainy day; numbers then abandon their dark retreats, and in a short time one may collect hundreds. The shell of some is yellow, or yellowish; on that of others are circular black or brown fasciæ.

It is by no means an easy matter to decapitate a snail, for the moment it feels the instrument, it suddenly retires into the shell. Thus it is evident, that we may suppose a snail is decapitated, when only a portion of the integuments is cut off. To avoid deception, I have used several precautions. The snail is allowed to extend as much as possible, and an additional extension is procured by immersing the animal in water. The instrument is frequently presented before striking the blow; and I never esteem the operation complete unless the head is obtained entire, with the four horns fully displayed, and also the mouth, which may always be recognised by the opening of

of the lips. The head, as it appears some time after separation from the trunk, is represented a little magnified, fig. 1. plate 8. The two large horns, gg, are somewhat contracted; the small, pp, are entirely ~~contracted~~ within themselves. The mouth b, is closely shut, and the lips are very evident there.

A sharp edged knife seems more proper for this operation than a scalpel; scissors are still less convenient than the latter. I have uniformly observed to make the cut perpendicular to the axis of the trunk.

Immediately after decapitation, the snail retreats far within its shell, and in general does not appear again. A copious portion of that viscous fluid, with which it is so amply provided, is now diffused. Some motion is perceptible in the horns of the severed head, and chiefly in the larger; but this very soon ceases; and I have in vain tried to renew it by stimulating the head near the origin, with a scalpel. All the horns contract to a certain degree instantly on the operation, and the small contract more than the others.

By a very simple method, one may ascertain whether the operation is complete, namely, by immersing the decapitated snail in water. It quickly leaves the shell, and extends as much as before decollation. Then we immediately see whether

whether the trunk is entirely deprived of the head (1). The anterior part of such a trunk, drawn from life, is represented, fig. 2, and the profile, fig. 3, plate 8. It is evident that the flesh is powerfully contracted to close the enormous wound.

The viscous matter, exuding after decapitation, forms a thin whitish operculum, which completely obstructs the mouth of the shell. Two of these opercula are frequently formed, one situated above the other, sometimes there are three; the exterior of which is near the edge of the opening, and the inmost more or less within the shell.

Though the decapitated snail can reproduce several opercula, the viscous fluid is gradually exhausted, and the shell at last remains open, or nearly so, because the animal, being incapable of feeding while deprived of the head, cannot repair the continual loss of this kind of varnish. It insensibly becomes emaciated, which is evident

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by

(1) It may happen that the snail does not extend so much as would be desirable, or as is necessary for judging of the progress of reproduction, but it is only requisite to take the shell between the fingers, after removing it from the water, and the animal will soon extend as much as possible. Great care must be observed to avoid touching the snail, because the most gentle motion makes it retire into its shell.

by the diminution of size and an internal transparency. I have often been astonished at the number of successive opercula produced by decapitated snails; however, all do not produce them; at the same time, the shells of very few continue open.

My decapitated snails were kept in boxes. Some remained at the bottom, others attained the sides, against which they applied the mouth of the shell; others, ascending higher, reached the covering, where they fixed in the same manner. These seemed to be the most vigorous, or had suffered least from the operation.

When I wished to learn the state of the decapitated snails from week to week, I had only to take the opercula carefully from the mouth of the shells, and then immerse them in very limpid water; thus the snails are forced to appear sooner or later, but they have sometimes remained within for several hours after immersion. This method, to which I have always had recourse, is the best in my opinion, for the snails, then extending to the utmost limits, expose the anterior part so completely, that nothing can escape the observer's eye. They endeavour to leave the water, and gradually attain their purpose, if the depth is not too great; or, crawling slowly over the bottom and sides of the vessel, they advance until they reach a dry position, and  
fix

fix themselves there; and it is necessary, for forcing them out, to re-immerge them in the water. Notwithstanding privation of the head, they advance forward as if they had one, only their progress is a little slower.

At first, I decapitated only a dozen of snails, which was on the 8 of May 1777. I repeat, and it cannot be too often repeated, for I am earnest to obviate the most trivial objections, that decapitation has never been esteemed complete but when I had the head entire, and accompanied by all its appendages, on my tablet. The heads severed in this manner were ranged together along one side of my tablet, where they still remain.

Let us proceed, in the next place, to describe the wonderful reproductions which succeeded before my eyes. I will not enter into minute detail; it is unnecessary, for my only purpose is to prove the reality of the reproduction, in confutation of the detractors of the famous discovery of my friend the Abbé Spallanzani.

This reproduction does not preserve the same uniformity as that of the head of those aquatic worms, which I multiplied by sections in the year 1741, and of which I published an account a few years afterwards. The reproductions of the snail present a number of varieties, which it would be tedious to describe. Signor Spallanzani



zani has given some instances in his *Prodrome*, and after him, I have mentioned them in *la Palingenesie*, part 9; the reader is referred to these two works, for I should here confine myself to my own observations.

A profile of the anterior part of a snail decapitated 8 May, and delineated 21 June, is a little magnified, fig. 4. The two large horns, g, g, are beginning to protrude; the left is further advanced than the right, which is just originating. A brown, or blackish line proceeds from the large right horn; this is the optic nerve and its muscle; the various motions and structure of which, Swammerdam has displayed to our admiration. Some transparency is perceptible in the flesh; and, as it increases greatly in snails that have abstained a month or two from food, the optic nerve and muscle become much more evident. A white line l, runs along the back; but I am ignorant whether it is a vessel. The anterior part of the same snail, viewed from before, is represented from the life, fig. 5: only the upper extremity of the large horns is seen, and at the extremity there appears a minute black point; this is the eye of the snail, in which Swammerdam assures us he has found the three humours of an eye, the two tunics, the uvea, and arachnoid. Here the eye is already visible; though the horn is but in its origin, it is perceptible in those

those that have even made less progress, as will immediately be observed. The small horns have no eye at the extremity; they do not yet appear, neither are the new lips of the mouth *b* visible. This snail I shall distinguish by the letter A.

The anterior part of another snail, drawn 23 June, is represented a little magnified, fig. 6. Reproduction is somewhat advanced, for one of the small horns, *p*, seems completely regenerated, though its fellow has not begun to protrude. The origin of the large horns, which have made very little progress, is seen above the small horn *g, g*. This is a striking example of the varieties which occur in the reproduction of the head of the snail; one of the small horns is far advanced, while the corresponding horn is still imperceptible, and the larger ones only beginning to expand. Fig. 7 is a profile of the snail. The transparency allows the optic nerve *t* to be seen proceeding from the origin of a large horn; the eye is distinct, and the lips of the new mouth *b* are visible. This snail I shall distinguish by the letter B. The anterior part, as on the 2 of July, is represented a little magnified, fig. 8, and the section, fig. 9. The mouth *b* cannot be mistaken, nor the large horns with their eyes, *g, g*.

Another snail, which on the 23 of June seemed to have completely repaired the head, shall be

designed by C. The four horns were perfect, and had acquired the natural size of those proper to this species. The mouth seemed to be regenerated: the opening was complete; and the new lips, very distinct, were of the figure and proportions which they ought to be. In a word, this snail so much resembled other snails of the same species, which had not been mutilated, that I could distinguish it only by the transparence and diminution of size. It is represented fig. 10. as drawn from the life: and the plane of the anterior part, fig. 11. where the new mouth and its lips are distinctly seen. Above it, the transparence of the flesh shews an oblong spot *t*, which is the teeth of the snail: the lips can approach to it or recede. These two figures were not designed till towards the middle of summer. From the 23 of June, I began to supply the snail with young vine and lettuce leaves: but it would not touch them. After traversing the leaves and the sides of the vessels, it commonly fixed to the covering, and remained there during complete weeks. Notwithstanding its abstinence more than two months in summer, it always seemed in good health, and is still in the same state while I write this, 21 July.

I have already observed, that the eyes appear, although the large horns are but beginning to be repaired. This was evident in a snail decapitated

ed 8 May, whose head is represented, fig. 1. On the 6 of July, when it was designed, the reproduction had made very little progress, fig. 12. Though the origin of the large horns is visible, they do not yet begin to extend: indeed, the eye alone, which is already perceptible, indicates their place: it appears like a minute black point, such as it is possible to make with the finest pen. The snail was drawn when stretched to the utmost, and I have used the same precaution with all the rest. In that of which I now speak, neither the small horns nor mouth yet appear.

When the large horns are retracted, the black point or eye is easily perceived within through the flesh. I have frequently discerned it with my naked eye, and even in those snails whose reproduction was very little advanced.

I should not neglect to observe, that of the twelve snails decapitated 8 May, only one died. All the rest still seem to be well, 27 July: but the progress of reproduction is very various. In some, it is no more than begun: in others, the large horns alone are repaired, the origin of the small ones is imperceptible, and the mouth is ill defined. Some of the large horns are only a half or two-thirds of a line in length. Such are those of the snail, which has hitherto been distinguished by the letter A: the anterior part, as it appeared 27

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June,

June, is represented fig. 4. and as it was 26 July, fig. 13. Something singular is presented by the large horns: they are thicker in proportion to their length than those of unregenerated snails. At the extremity, we remark a kind of deformity, which seems produced by a certain plication of the flesh, and gives the horns a monstrous appearance. However, the eye is very distinct. The colour of the horns tends to violet, which is generally the case with all reproducing horns, and very much resembles that of the nerve traversing the flesh. The mouth is not perceptible in the anterior part of another snail, unless as a prominence arising, *b*, fig. 14.

I have commonly remarked, as well as Sig. Spallanzani, several conspicuous irregularities in the reproduction of the double parts of the same snail. Sometimes a large horn only half or two-thirds of the length of the corresponding horn appears, or the latter is scarcely visible. Likewise a small horn will be completely regenerated, while its fellow is hardly perceptible or not at all. I have seen one half of a lip reproduced, and the other fully repaired.

I may limit myself to these few examples: they will be sufficient to give an idea of the varieties presented by the regenerating head of the snail. It seems to me, that they infer the reproduction of one part to be independent of that of another:

another: for how can we deny it, if one horn is completely reproduced, while the rest are invisible, or only beginning to grow? This must be considered a most important fact in the theory of these admirable reproductions, but I shall omit speaking of it here, as I have already endeavoured to sketch it, Part 10 of the *Palingenese*.

On the 12 of May, I decapitated thirty snails of the same species, treating them precisely similar to the first: above two-thirds have perished. Those still alive regenerate variously, and presenting the same varieties, or some analogous to those already described. The months of May and June, and the beginning of July, have been very raw and wet. At San-rife, Reaumur's thermometer stood at 4, 5, 6° above freezing on some days in the first week of July (1).

At present, this discussion shall be no further extended, for I intend to resume the subject in another Memoir: but enough has been said to prove that nothing is more certain than the wonderful reproduction. I know not what to think of the fruitless attempts of some philosophers, and particularly those of Messrs. Adanson, Cotte, and Bomare. Perhaps they have too soon declared the state of their experiments, or taken

(1) About 41°, 43°, and 45° of Fahrenheit's thermometer.—T.

for equivocal what was a real reproduction: or perhaps they thought the snails still alive were dead. In this case, it is requisite to have much patience, and, above all, to despair of nothing. I do not speak of the diversities which the difference of species might occasion in the result of the experiments made by these celebrated persons; for there is reason to suppose, that among the immense number of snails on which they have operated, some were of the same species as mine. Neither do I speak of the diversities that might arise from the difference of climate; for that of Paris is very little different from ours. Therefore I entreat these able naturalists not to be discouraged, and to resume a subject so pregnant with new facts, and one which cannot be too deeply investigated. They possess far more information, talents, and ability, than are necessary to succeed in experiments of this nature: and I may predict the most complete success if they will not be discouraged, and if they will proceed in the manner I have done.

M. Adanson wrote to me concerning his own experiments, 30 July 1769. 'I begin to have a philosophic doubt concerning the regeneration of the head, horns, and jaws of snails. My experiments, diversified to infinity for above a year, on fourteen or fifteen hundred snails of different species, convince me that my doubt has foundation.'

foundation. I have, as every one has had, re-  
 productions, even very immediate ones, of  
 horns, heads, lips, and other parts; but these  
 were reproductions of parts that had not been  
 entirely cut off: for all the heads, I say, the  
 real heads, all the horns, all the jaws, and the  
 other parts which have been completely cut  
 away, and only a quarter of a line from the  
 origin, never exhibited any kind of reproduc-  
 tion, far less a complete regeneration. Let us  
 be strict, and investigate the truth. All who  
 have mutilated snails, and first Sig. Spallanzani,  
 have certainly been deceived. They have thought  
 the head was severed, when the cap only has  
 been cut off: they have believed that they se-  
 parated or eradicated the horns and jaws, while  
 the origin always remained; whence it is not  
 wonderful if reproductions ensued. These, you  
 will candidly admit, are not reproductions, or  
 rather regenerations, such as you, M. Trembley,  
 and Reaumur, had seen in fresh water worms,  
 the polypus, the claws of lobsters. — How many  
 well credited operations have deceived persons,  
 less familiar than us with similar operations and  
 the anatomy of shelled animals! They have  
 thought that they had completely cut off so many  
 heads, horns, and mouths, beyond the origin,  
 which, in every journal and periodical paper,  
 they have so liberally regenerated. I am well  
 aware



' aware of our deficiency in most nice experi-  
 ' ments ; and, notwithstanding my great experi-  
 ' ence, I may almost presume to say, dexterity  
 ' in the anatomy of the smallest animals, I always  
 ' distrust myself. For this reason I have repeated  
 ' the same experiments an hundred and an hun-  
 ' dred times, before hazarding the results before  
 ' the public. I have laboured the first, or among  
 ' the first, to corroborate all the experiments of  
 ' Sig. Spallanzani, and to make additions to  
 ' what might have escaped his notice. I have  
 ' operated on a greater number of animals, and  
 ' diversified my experiments more than any other  
 ' person, to judge of all that has been read be-  
 ' fore the academy, or printed ; and I am the  
 ' only one who has read nothing on the subject,  
 ' which I investigate with the utmost assiduity.—  
 ' It is nearly the same with the reparation of the  
 ' parts of newts, several species of frogs, toads,  
 ' tadpoles, &c. When part of the tails and feet  
 ' were amputated, I have seen sensible reproduc-  
 ' tions ; but none when these parts were am-  
 ' putated close to the origin. Consider my ex-  
 ' pressions well, *regeneration* and *origin*, on which  
 ' your principles rest so much, and there is no  
 ' actual reproduction. And I hope you will do  
 ' that justice to my doubts, as to acknowledge  
 ' that Sig. Spallanzani and his followers have  
 ' too far extended their expressions of regenera-  
 ' tions,

tions, which were only partial reproductions of parts.

To the numerous experiments and doubts of my eminent correspondent, I shall oppose only the letter to me from the Abbe Spallanzani, cited in the beginning of this treatise, wherein he details all his precautions to avoid error. I sent M. Adanson a copy of this letter, but it did not produce that effect on his mind which I expected; nay, he still persisted in his doubts when he wrote to me, 26 July 1775. The various

parts amputated, or torn, not only from different species of snails, but also from several other aquatic animals, as frogs, toads, newts, have produced no organized reproduction to me, as the mutilated part did to Sig. Spallanzani. I have diversified the experiments, which my friend Mr Needham and some other observers of this rank have witnessed, to such a degree, that we all esteem it certain, when the operation has been complete, the reproduction is but a stump, that is, a mass of flesh unorganized or differently organized. And Signor Spallanzani should know that the observations of our most celebrated anatomists have proved, that the production of the tails of lizards, which are so common, although externally well formed, present no regular ossification as the rest; nor have they any internal vertebrae.

M. Adanson

M. Adanson is evidently one of those philosophers who start difficulties about facts ; and who desire themselves to behold prodigies again and again, before admitting them for truth. This reserve cannot be censured ; but I confess that here it appears extreme, especially after evidence so strictly demonstrative as the Abbé Spallanzani has given of his discovery. May I therefore hope, that the experiments, which I now publish, will triumph over the incredulity of our learned academicians ? Doubtless he will not suspect that I have deprived the snails only of the *cap*, to use his own expression ; for the head so completely and so perfectly separated from the trunk, as represented fig. 1, will not allow the least suspicion to remain. I must request M. Adanson to consider all the details of my experiments ; and to attend to the able designs of the artist, which admirably represent the regenerations I have witnessed. They might easily have been further extended, but I do not esteem it necessary to the purpose I have in view. Should it be objected, that the snail drawn from the life, fig. 10, 11, had not then touched the young vine and lettuce leaves with which it was supplied ; I may answer, that it has given the most indisputable evidence of being provided with very good teeth ; for, on the 27 of July, it began to eat the paper covering the mouth of the vessel where it was confined

confined, and voided some well formed excrements, the colour and consistence of which being exactly like paper, indicated that they were its remains.

M. Adanson also doubted the reproduction of the members of the newt, which has been so fully ascertained by the numerous experiments of Signor Spallanzani, and the principal results published in his interesting *Prospetus*, 1768. In the letter of 20 July 1775, M. Adanson observes, 'Whenever the operation on newts has been complete, only the stump of a reproduction appeared, that is, a mass of flesh unorganized or differently organized;' and he cites the testimony of Mr Needham, and some other observers. But what will M. Adanson himself say, when I inform him that this pretended stump, or imaginary lump of inorganic flesh, is the member itself perfectly formed, concealed under this deceitful appearance; and which has been completely developed before me, as I had formerly seen the evolution of the head and tail of those aquatic worms, which were multiplied by being cut in pieces. In my cabinet, there are actually newts completely repaired, of which I shall publish a history in a future memoir, accompanied by excellent designs. Our celebrated academicien has therefore been precipitate in his opinion, when he thought he only suspended it. He has decided

decided that the newt reproduced but a stump; while the stump was the member itself, where nothing essential was defective, and it had just to acquire the size of that which it replaced.

Thus M. Adanson was as much deceived concerning newts as concerning snails; and the mistakes of such a naturalist are a good lesson to those who have neither his knowledge nor his ability. I am convinced that he will acknowledge his error, for I know him to be a sincere friend to truth; and stand in no fear of reproach for having laid it open in this little treatise.

M. de Bomare, no less a friend to truth, and whose experiments have been as unsuccessful as those of M. Adanson, was consequently equally incredulous. I had referred him to the same letter from the Italian observer, printed in the *Avant-Coureur*, 30 October 1769; and, on the 5 of November 1775, he replied—‘ You ask me why  
‘ I have not answered one of the articles of a former letter respecting the reproduction of the  
‘ head of the snail. I can answer you, that all  
‘ the experiments which I have attempted on this  
‘ subject seem adverse to those of Sig. Spallanzani. You will see, at the article Limaçon of my  
‘ Dictionary, what I have said on the subject, and  
‘ which I mentioned before in 1768.’ I shall transcribe

scribe from the *Dictionnaire d'Histoire Naturelle* the passage to which M. de Bomare refers.

I confess that, being unable to credit the reproduction, I made many experiments on the subject while at the Chateau de Chantilly during Autumn 1768, which have since been communicated to the public; and the result follows. I decapitated fifty-two terrestrial snails: all, whenever they felt the sharp-edge of the knife, suddenly and very powerfully contracted themselves, and the operation finished, the part that retired precipitately into the shell appeared corrugated like the extremity of the rectum of a hen. Nine were twenty-four hours in motion, and only those which had an imperfect cut on the neck between the large horns and the organs of generation; the knife being so blunt that I had evidently seen all the horns retract into the interior of the animal. Thus I had only separated the skin and jaw of the snails; so that in ten or twelve days, they proceeded from the shells crawling about with mutilated horns. The snails, which lost the diagonal half of the head, displayed no more than two horns; but all those that I had completely decapitated, which were by far the most numerous, died in a few days, except two, which lived five months fixed to a wall, and died in spring without indicating reproduction of the head. I have

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made a longitudinal incision between the four horns in the head of other snails : nature employed above a month in uniting the parts, and the animals were very languid. These experiments were repeated, 1769, and all unsuccessful. Many persons have informed me, from different countries, that their essays have been exactly similar to mine.

It is singular that I have succeeded with only a dozen of snails, while M. de Bomare has failed with more than fifty, and M. Adanson with above fourteen hundred. But it is possible that these gentlemen were too earnest to believe that their experiments had failed ; or they did not pay sufficient attention to the progress of the regeneration, always more or less tardy, more or less disguised, and, consequently, more or less difficult to be recognised.

I have named another valuable naturalist, F. Cotte, curate of Montmorency, who has been equally unfortunate as M. Adanson and Bomare. His unsuccessful experiments are related in a letter to the Abbé Rozier, which was published in the *Journal de Physique*, May 1774. The reproductions of heads are according to him *imaginary*. Because he decapitated a great number of snails from 1768 until 1774, and almost the whole died soon after the operation, which had been performed with a sharp knife, not by drawing but

by



by a single blow; and his account is concluded with remarking three consequences, which he assures us were attendant on all his experiments and observations. 1. He remarks that snails have the property of contracting very suddenly to protect their heads from the instrument, so as to escape with losing only part of the horns, or at most the skin of the head. 2. When it happens that the head is actually cut off, it is not reproduced: at least he declares that he has never seen reproductions, not even of portions of the horns, amputated. 3. Snails can live very long without eating and without the head.

I am ignorant whether M. Adanson, de Bomare, and Cotte have continued their experiments, or what has ensued. But I am not the only naturalist who has succeeded in corroborating Signor Spallanzani's discovery: that has already been done by the celebrated Signora Bailli of Bologna, by M. Lavoisier and Schæffer; and M. Senebier pastor and librarian of our Republic, who has given public testimony of his skill in philosophy and natural history, has had the same success as myself in experiments on snails. I would here transcribe what he has communicated concerning them, did he not say that his observations are sent to be published in the Abbé Rozier's *Journal*.

Y 2

Although



Although the head of the snail is a very complicated little machine from its structure, as I have shown in another place (1); it is indubitable that the gelatinous quality of the flesh greatly promotes its wonderful reproduction.

When treating of the polypus, I have enlarged on this observation. However, I do not mean that one should conclude that all gelatinous animals, all animals in their primitive state of jelly, may reproduce or repair the loss of their members, as the polypus and snail. Experiment alone can discover the limits of this admirable property; and what we have already learned concerning the extent of its dominion should excite naturalists to diversify to the utmost their essays on a subject so fertile in wonders. I cannot exhort them too earnestly to despair of nothing even in the most uncommon experiments.

(1) *Paléogéographie Philologique*, Part 3, new edition of *La Contemplation de la Nature*, Part 3, chap. 23. Note 4-4.

upper jaw are radically extinguished, or cut below the origin, they are not reproduced, either under the same form, or with the same organization as before. You have decollated two or three of snails, 8 and 12 May 1777. I believe it. You severed the heads, as I myself did, two times beyond the origin; that is towards the opening of the parts of generation.

You

## MEMOIR II.

HAVING myself beheld some of the prodigies presented by the regenerating head of the snail, I wished to know what M. Adanson thought of the result of my experiments, and I requested him to read the preceding treatise, which was published in the *Journal de Physique* 1777. He did so, and wrote me on the 10 of January 1775.

'I have read your excellent Memoir on the reproduction of the head of snails, with all the attention it deserves; and the perusal only tends to confirm me more and more, in what a course of experiments, continued nearly ten years, since 1768 until the present day, on several thousand snails, has taught me, namely, that when the integral parts of snails, whether the head entire, the eye or the oculated horn, the upper jaw are radically extirpated, or cut below the origin, they are not reproduced, either under the same form, or with the same organization as before. You have decollated two or three dozen of snails, 8 and 12 May 1777. I believe it. You severed the heads, as I myself did, two lines beyond the origin; that is, towards the opening of the parts of generation.

' You have taken from each severed head, as I  
 ' have done, the upper jaw entire, and the ocu-  
 ' lated horn also entire; then after two or three  
 ' months, in June and July, you have seen a  
 ' third of the snails, even eleven of the twelve  
 ' first decapitated, reproduce a complete head,  
 ' with the eye horns, and the upper jaw formed  
 ' like a horse-shoe, with the serrated teeth. You  
 ' must permit me still to retain my philosophic  
 ' doubt concerning the three last assertions,  
 ' until repetition of the following experiments  
 ' on which it is founded; experiments which  
 ' have served to confirm the accuracy of my  
 ' operations, and certain proofs that my snails  
 ' were completely, and not apparently, decapitat-  
 ' ed. To obtain the same certainty, take the  
 ' greatest number of snails you please (that is,  
 ' hundreds, to provide for the great mortality  
 ' that will ensue) not of the small species, called  
 ' the lacquey, which you made use of, and is  
 ' most deceiving, from its great lubricity and  
 ' agility in evading the knife, an agility propor-  
 ' tioned to its smallness, and must have misled  
 ' you; at least, that happened to me in my first  
 ' attempts, and obliged me to abandon it; take,  
 ' I say, the large yellowish snail of the vine, nam-  
 ' ed pomatia, or rather the brown garden snail,  
 ' by us called the gardener, which is almost as  
 ' large, and the most common of all. After keep-  
 ' ing

ing the whole a day or two, more or less immersed in water, and under a press, in order to diminish their vivacity and lubricity, tear away the upper jaw, which is formed like a horse-shoe, and bounded by five or six teeth; the lower palate, which is a membrane dentated like the tongue of a cat or a file, and eradicate the two large oculated horns, using for these last little pincers, with thread or flax, to take off any edge, and prevent them from slipping, or, indeed, pressing the neck of the animal with two fingers, to eradicate the jaws; avail yourself of this forced position to amputate with a fine and sharp botanical scalpel, the two oculated horns, with the bulb below the eyes; or you may separate only one of the horns, on purpose to leave an object for comparison. Cut the head entirely off others, observing whether the severed heads have the jaws and eyes complete. Reserve the whole jaws and eyes, that you may be certain you have as many as snails operated upon. The snails, thus deprived of teeth, eyes, or heads, will generally live six months, even one or two years, without food; they gradually become emaciated even unto perfect extinction; if, during this time, they recover new eyes, new jaws, a new head, which I have never had the good fortune to see in those identified after the operation;

'ration; if this experiment, made with all the  
 'precautions I have taken, and which I believe  
 'it essential to use, succeeds in your hands, and  
 'with the Abbé Spallanzani, I shall esteem it an  
 'fact, that the parts entirely separated are repro-  
 'duced in these animals. But, beware, would you  
 'desire to make such contradictory experiments,  
 'though without them you cannot be certain of  
 'the real reproduction of a jaw, an eye, or a  
 'head. I abridge the subject, because the con-  
 'sequences that may be deduced are in my let-  
 'ter 30 July 1769, which I thank you for hav-  
 'ing reminded me of in your treatise.

'Let us proceed to newts. I have yet been  
 'unable to peruse your Memoir; but, excepting  
 'the tail, to judge by my observations on that  
 'of lizards, it seems incapable of reproduc-  
 'ing the ossæous vertebra; and although I  
 'have only had reproductions of stumps of the  
 'feet cut off several species of these animals and  
 'of frogs, from not being able to prosecute  
 'my experiments with such conveniency, nor  
 'so long on them as on snails, I most firm-  
 'ly believe the possibility of the reproduction of  
 'the toes and their bones, when the anterior or  
 'posterior part of the arm is not amputated.

I want words to express all the astonishment  
 which this letter from my learned correspondent  
 excited; and I doubt not that the reader will be  
 equally

equally surprised. What Mr. Adanson desires me to do is precisely that which would occasion the failure of the experiment; for, how could one tear out, or eradicate with pincers, the different parts of a snail, without causing the greatest internal disorder? How is it possible, in this way, to succeed in eradicating all the parts? and, supposing that it was practicable, should we not endanger the sources of reparation? Is it not enough, that I am certain, by the most attentive examination of the heads I have cut from my snails, that they contain all the parts which characterise a head, such as the four horns, the mouth, the jaws, &c.? Was it necessary to cut out the large horns with a botanic scalpel, in order to ascertain that the snail would produce new ones? Was it not sufficient, that I had once and again beheld the origin and progress of the new oculated horns, that I had seen the new eye and the optic nerve first appear in this wonderful reproduction? It is improper to magnify, as Mr. Adanson has done, the alacrity with which the snail retracts its head the moment it is touched by the instrument, for that alacrity is not so great as to prevent a person, with a little address, from effecting complete decapitation. I can even affirm with truth, that it very seldom failed, when the precautions mentioned in the former Memoir were taken.

I suppose

M.

M. Adanson seems to reproach me with using snails of too small a size; he remarks, that the small species which were used must have deceived me, from their great alacrity in eluding the edge of the knife. Nevertheless, I can affirm, that I have operated on the small species as easily as on the middle sized, and even the largest. But we exaggerate the alertness of snails, in saving their heads; for, abstinence during several days, and immersion in water, undoubtedly weaken them, and, to a certain degree, diminish the celerity of their motions. Besides, if small snails were mutilated, it was only because I reasonably presumed, that the wonderful reproduction which I wished to behold would be accomplished more easily, or in shorter time, than in the largest snails. However, experiments on the largest species have not been omitted; and the success shall be related.

To terminate this answer to the objections of our celebrated Pyrrhonist, I shall here subjoin an extract from a letter that I wrote to him 21 January 1778.

If it was in the compass of my power, my dear and illustrious friend, I should make the experiments you desire on snails. But, in truth, I do not think that any thing can be done more strictly demonstrative than what has been so well executed by my friend Signor Spallanzani; and



and what he narrated at length, in the letter of  
 11 September 1769, that I transmitted to you,  
 but to which you have never replied a single  
 word.

What is required? To ascertain whether the  
 head is completely cut off; and whether the  
 head reproduced contains all the organs of the  
 original head. What have we to do, that these  
 two facts may be proved? The severed head  
 must be carefully dissected, and the interior ex-  
 amined with the utmost attention, that we may  
 be satisfied it contains all the organs belonging  
 to it; and it is necessary to dissect the repro-  
 duced head with equal care, and, by an accu-  
 rate examination of the interior, to ascertain  
 whether it actually contains every part pertain-  
 ing to the head of a snail. This has frequently  
 been done by Signor Spallanzani; and now  
 let me ask, whether, in strict logic, there is any  
 foundation for doubting an experiment made  
 with similar precaution? Yet you tell me, 30  
 July 1769, that the Abbé Spallanzani must be  
 deceived; that he supposed the whole head was  
 severed, when only the cap was cut off. You  
 persist in the same assertion. 30 July 1775.  
 Certainly you cannot have attended to the  
 Reggian observer's letter, to which I referred  
 you; therefore allow me to refer you to it  
 again.

I have



"I have set apart all the severed heads, and considered the whole attentively. I have remarked the two large horns with their eyes, the small horns, the mouth, the lips, and the other parts: I have then seen new horns protrude: I have seen the eyes of the horns, and the optic nerve of the eyes: I have seen a new mouth, new lips, and new teeth appear in the snails—in the same snails whose original heads I had set apart. I have seen snails that gnawed the covering of a vessel with their new teeth, and void excrements containing the matter which they had consumed. What more could you desire, my worthy friend? And, after so many proofs, how can you inform me that you still retain your philosophic doubt? Can such a doubt, extended so far, and calling in question the most accurate, reiterated, and demonstrative experiments, be termed *truly philosophical*? Consider that the Abbé Spallanzani and I are not the only observers who have beheld the prodigies visible in the reproduction of the head of the snail. The celebrated Signora Bassi, Messrs Lavoisier, Schaeffer, Muller, and others, have also seen and described them. Are you willing to think, all these observers have been imposed upon;—these who have given such ample evidence of their ability and accuracy?

With

With respect to the reproductions of newts, you tell me that you firmly credit the renewal of the fingers and their bones, so long as the anterior or posterior part of the arm is not cut off. I regret that you have written this, before perusing my treatise on the *Reproductions of Newts*. There you would have seen that I amputated the fingers, the hands, the cubit, whole arms, legs, feet, and thighs; and that all these members were perfectly regenerated by the animals. This would have induced you to put more confidence in the beautiful discoveries of the Abbé Spallanzani on snails and newts. My treatise was printed in *Rosier's Journal*, last November; and I wonder that you, who reside in the same place where it is published, have not procured it. The figures, added to the memoir, are very accurate; but the designs were superior to the engravings. It will present you with facts, which, I hope, in a little time, you will not oppose. See, therefore, and believe.

The letter from Signor Spallanzani on the mode of operation, to which M. Adanson had paid less attention than it deserved, is so well adapted to convince naturalists of the reality of the ingenious discovery which it describes, that I cannot avoid transcribing it here, as the best refutation that may be opposed to the detractors of this discovery, and as a model of the method that

that should be pursued in researches of a similar nature.

Modena, 11 September 1789.

‘I thank you, Monsieur, for your information concerning snails. On considering the different results of naturalists, and particularly of French naturalists, I am of opinion, that, besides their inexperience in the art of experiment, the diversity of the species of snails, on which they have endeavoured to repeat my experiments, has, in an eminent degree, occasioned a difference in the result of their experiments. It is certain that all the snails of Modena reproduce more or less; but I do not warrant the reproduction of foreign snails: perhaps some among them do not possess this resource. You will see more on the subject, in my preface to the Italian translation of your *Contemplation de la Nature*, which will appear this year. It is very probable that the snails, which have exercised the industry of the learned anonymous Frenchman, of whom you speak, are in the number of those where the reproductive property does not reside in the highest degree. I may say the same of the snails on which M. de Bomare and Father Cote have operated. But does it thence follow that I am deceived? To affirm it would be a rash assertion; to call it no more. If any one

‘ one attempts to confute me, I will try to defend myself; and my very circumstantial details, as well as those of my friends, will prove that I am in no error.

‘ You obligingly inquire, whether the severed head truly contained all the organs pertaining to the head of a snail? To answer this important question, I shall mention the mode of performing the experiment. When I discovered that snails enjoyed the prerogative of reproducing their parts, I began to dissect them, purposely to acquire a perfect knowledge of their anatomy. I wished to make myself master of all the organs composing the head. My model has uniformly been M. Lyonet’s anatomical work; and I was provided with the whole of his apparatus. The snail, which I proposed to dissect, was killed in water; it then proceeds from the shell; the four horns are displayed, and it dies in this position, which is the most favourable for dissection. It is by this trivial experiment that I have been able to convince myself, that the severed head actually contained all the parts Swammerdam has described in his treatise on snails.

‘ It was only after having studied the structure of the head attentively, that I began to mutilate the animal; and I proceeded in the following manner: The snail was allowed to extend fully  
‘ from



' from the shell, and display the horns; then the  
 ' operation succeeded wonderfully well; and the  
 ' severed head will often keep the horns nearly  
 ' as much extended as before decollation, only  
 ' they sink down and appear feeble; the head  
 ' itself contracts and concentrates very much.  
 ' It dilates, if soaked several hours in water, and  
 ' becomes soft; in which state it can easily be  
 ' dissected.

' I began the dissection close to the cut; and,  
 ' after removing the integuments, I could dis-  
 ' tinctly see the division or distribution of the  
 ' nerves proceeding to the eyes, and the other  
 ' parts of the head. The situation of the oesophagus,  
 ' and the muscles serving for the different  
 ' motions of the head, were as distinctly observ-  
 ' ed. Sometimes I examined the whole or part  
 ' of the separated brain, instead of the nerves.

' By continuing the dissection, and extending  
 ' it further, I could easily trace the different  
 ' parts, even to the places of insertion in the head.  
 ' Without the least difficulty, I found the throat  
 ' of the animal, its tongue, lips, mouth, teeth,  
 ' the four horns, with their nerves, muscles, and  
 ' other appendages. The horns might be re-  
 ' tracted into the head: I had only to pull the  
 ' end of the divided muscles.

' These, my dear correspondent, are the most  
 ' remarkable parts that presented themselves to  
 ' view

view in the divided head. I say, *the most remarkable*; for I discovered many others less important, of which I shall treat in my large work.

Let me now ask you, if this assemblage of parts composing the severed head, if this assemblage which I have seen, and an hundred times seen again, is simply the integument of the head, or a portion of this integument, as is imagined by the French observers, whose experiments you have communicated to me. Is it not the most satisfactory evidence, that I have been under no illusion, and that this severed head fully contained all the organs of which it is originally composed.

I practised nearly the same method with regard to the head reproduced. It would be superfluous to enumerate the organs composing it; for I could only repeat what has just been said of those we discover in the original head cut off. This decollation, indeed, frequently gives place to various monstrosities of the parts reproduced; but the essence of my discovery is not affected by them.

I have taken care to measure the severed head, and to compare it with that reproduced. Many other precautions have also been used; and although I omit them here, they shall be mentioned at large in my work.

‘ I flatter myself, that my treatise on the reproductions of snails will be so rich in experiments, and that they will be so amply and accurately described, as to convince the most obstinate infidels.’

The reader may now decide whether I had any foundation for reproaching the excess of M. Adanson’s pyrrhonism concerning the discovery on snails. It is truly most singular, that he persists in his doubts, after the perusal of a letter so strictly demonstrative as that I have just transcribed. How many physical facts are admitted by philosophers, and by M. Adanson himself, which are no better established than those of which we treat. Shall I say more? M. Adanson still retained his doubts 9 October 1779, as I learned from himself during a visit he then paid me on a journey for the recovery of his health. At that time, I had no snails in full reproduction, but I had the satisfaction of convincing him, by the testimony of his own eyes, of the reality of the prodigies presented by the reproduction of the members of the water newt. I showed him newts in various stages of reproduction; I showed him arms, hands, thighs, legs, feet, perfectly well formed. He yielded to so many accumulated proofs; and was convinced that what he had erroneously supposed simple stumps were actually real members which would be completely regenerated.

**L**

I now return to my experiments on the reproduction of the head of snails. Those whose progress I mentioned in the first part of this Treatise died before finishing the reparation of the head. They became much emaciated, and assumed a transparency which is unnatural to snails. One, whose anterior part is represented, fig. 12. reproduced a large horn only, about a line in length, but much thicker than a large horn beginning to protrude, fig. 15. c. This singular horn, which seemed to be formed like a kind of spindle, had two eyes, fig. 12, *o, o*, very distinct, and each with its optic nerve. The whole is magnified, fig. 15 : the part reproduced, which is always lighter than the original flesh, is indicated by the slight shading. On close examination of the horn, it was immediately discovered to be formed by the union of two horns, which were as if ingrafted on each other. There was no mark of a mouth, nor were the small horns perceptible in this snail : therefore, how can there be any doubt of complete decapitation (1) ?

In spring 1778, I resumed these experiments on different species of snails. Their different reproductions presented varieties similar or analogous to those that I had observed in the snails decapitated the preceding year. One among them resembled that which is just mentioned. Two

Z 2

eyes

(1) There is here some inaccuracy in the original, which I am unable to correct.—T.



eyes could be very distinctly seen in the left horn of a snail that had begun to reproduce the mouth and the two large horns, fig. 16, *c, c*. The anterior part is here represented larger than life.

During the whole course of the year 1778, I continued to attend my snails. The progress of reproduction was very unequal as usual: and none completely repaired the head.

I decapitated twenty-four snails of the same species, 26 May 1780, and confined them in vessels after the operation. Several attained the summit of the vessels, and attached themselves to the sides, or to the paper covering over the mouth. The greater part shut up the shell with a very thin operculum at different degrees of depth within.

Several of the decapitated snails being immersed in water, that I might judge of the state of reproduction, 9 September 1780: two exhibited a remarkable monstrosity. One had a single large horn only, very like that of fig. 15. and was evidently formed by the union of two horns. Two small shining black eyes were at the extremity: each provided with an optic nerve perfectly visible through the transparent flesh. This monstrous horn, which was about a line long, appeared thicker in proportion than that of fig. 15. It greatly resembled a spindle, being cut even at the extremity, and all nearly of the same thickness. But it was different from the other by a more important

portant distinction. A little under the eye, on the left side, was seen a very minute tubercle, which seemed to be a second horn growing out of the large one. I sought in vain for the parts constituting a mouth in this snail. No vestiges of it could be discovered, nor was there the smallest indication of the two small horns.

The second snail exhibited another kind of monstrosity. Only one large horn had protruded; but at the extremity I thought I could discern three black eyes, which were so close, that they seemed confounded together, fig. 17, 18: the figures are magnified. On the upper part of the horn were very distinctly observed three parallel optic nerves, only one of which proceeded to the three minute eyes. Under this horn, and at a little distance from the origin, a very small one was discovered, apparently first beginning to expand. Here, as before, there was no visible indication of the parts forming the mouth.

I examined the two snails again on the 25 of October, both with the naked eye and a magnifier. Reproduction had made very sensible progress. Only eight of the whole snails were now alive, and all of that species with a yellow or yellowish shell. The other sixteen had perished, some sooner, some later.

The six snails, whose reproduction I had not yet examined, were immersed in water. Most of

them had made but little progress, and shewed only the origin of a single horn : Two eye-horns had protruded in one alone, at least a line and a third in length, and the optic nerves so large, or visible, that they seemed to darken the greatest part of the horns ; but the small ones, the lips, and the other parts of the mouth, did not yet appear. This snail obstinately remained in the shell, though immersed in water more than two hours. Suspecting its death, I had taken it out ; and, not before an interval of several hours, was I agreeably surprised, by seeing it proceed from its shell of its own accord, and display its new productions before me.

In another Memoir, I shall give the history of these eight snails.

After experiments on snails of the smallest species, it was proper to make them on the largest. This I began to execute, 24 May 1780, on twelve of the largest that are found with us. We may judge of their size, compared with the snails which have hitherto been the subject of this and the preceding memoir, when the diameter of the mouth of the shell of the latter was at least nineteen lines, and that of others, only four or five.

In a few weeks, half my snails died, and exhaled an excessively foetid odour. On 13 August, I immersed the six surviving. They proceeded from their shells ; and I saw that the im-  
mense

menſe wound was perfectly cicatrified, but no indications of reproduction were perceptible.

Towards the middle of October, other two ſnails died. On the 18, the four remaining were immerſed in water, where they remained more than three hours without appearing. With my nail, I ſcratched the laſt volute of the ſpiral, but in vain. All my endeavours were fruitleſs, and the ſnails obſtinately concealed the anterior part; they were then taken out, and confined in their veſſels. I will ingenuouſly acknowledge, that I had little expectation that the ſnails had made any reproductions. What, then, was my ſurpriſe, when they proceeded from their ſhells next morning, of their own accord, and exhibited unequivocal evidence of reproduction, and even of reproduction conſiderably advanced. One, in beginning to repair the head, had two large horns about a line in length, fig. 19. The left, *c*, which was thicker than the other, had two diſtinct black eyes at the extremity. The right horn, on the contrary, ſeemed to have none. No regeneration of the ſmall horns, or mouth, could yet be diſcovered.

Another ſnail had likewiſe begun to reproduce two large horns, nearly of the ſame ſize as the preceding, but the right horn was monſtrous; it apparently terminated by three ſmall ſoft points, fig. 20.

The reproduction of a third head was announced by four or five short protuberances, where the large left horn, bearing three black points, or very minute eyes, was alone visible. The whole is magnified, fig. 21; the three eyes, *a, b, c*. Two, instead of being at the extremity of the horn, were on the side; one, *a*, more evident than the other, *b*, and the third was a little below the other two. It was impossible to discern the optic nerves through the flesh, for the reproduction was yet in an early stage. Under the horn were two protuberances, *p*, the nature of which could not be known; but I shall continue my observations on these large snails, and give the sequel in another Memoir.

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MEMOIRS  
 ON THE  
 REPRODUCTION OF THE MEMBERS  
 OF THE  
*WATER NEWT,*  
 BY  
 CHARLES BONNET.

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MEMOIR I.

WHEN the prodigies of the celebrated polypus astonished the world, M. de Reaumur ventured to predict to the Academy of Sciences, that it would not be very long before many other animals were discovered, which should present the same,



same, or analogous wonders (1). I was the first who had the good fortune to verify this prediction, and it was soon confirmed by the most celebrated observers (2). Various species of freshwater worms, earth-worms, sea-nettles, and sea-stars, reproduced like the polypus, from sections (3). These discoveries were an immense addition to the riches of organic philosophy, and an inexhaustible source of meditation for the philosopher. But we had not then attained their limits. New prodigies, perhaps more wonderful still, were to be unveiled to naturalists; and to the illustrious Abbé Spallanzani was the discovery reserved. It is already evident, that I particularly allude to the regeneration of the head of the snail, and the members of water newts. People have doubted, nay, they yet continue to doubt, these beautiful discoveries, and additional confirmations seem to be desired by the impartial public. I have begun to give some in my Memoirs on the reproduced head of snails; and there, in my opinion, is the reality of that reproduction

(1) In the year 1740, *Memoires sur les Polypes*, by M. Trembley. Leyden, 1744, 4to.

(2) In 1741, *Traite d'Insectologie*, Part 2. Paris, 1745, 8vo.

(3) Reaumur, *Memoires sur les Insectes*, T. 6. Preface, page 49. Edit. 4to.

reproduction ascertained. In a second treatise, I proceed to relate recent experiments on the reproductions of water newts; and it will be seen that the renowned Reggian naturalist's discovery here, is no less certain than that of the head of the snail.

It is unnecessary, in this place, to describe the newts which were the subject of my experiments; they were exactly the same as those described in M. de Bomare's *Dictionnaire d'Histoire Naturelle*, which is in the hands of all the world. A newt of full size is represented, plate 9. fig. 1. These animals are of a deep brown colour, covered with round or elliptical tints, almost black; the under part of the belly is dark yellow, and covered with black spots, and the skin of the sides shagreened with whitish or yellowish tubercles. Young newts are different, being of a yellowish green colour, with light brown specks, or minute lines. But I again repeat, that it is not meant to describe the animal, but only to give an idea of the wonderful reproductions which I have beheld.

I. *Method of preserving newts.* — The newts are kept in large glass vessels, full of fresh water, which is renewed at least twice a week; for it becomes turbid in a few days, and it seems injurious when too long of being changed. Only one is put in each vessel. From time to time, they

they rise to the surface for respiration, and, after discharging several large air bubbles, immediately dive to the bottom. These little quadrupeds are perfectly innocent, and may be handled with safety. I have often held them without the smallest attempt to bite. I have even mutilated them in my hand with impunity. This remark is necessary, because there is a prejudice general among country people, that newts are very dangerous animals (1).

II. *Food*.—The newt is carnivorous ; it seems to care for living insects only, and is induced by the motions of the prey to seize it. In this it resembles spiders and ant-lions, which refuse to touch dead insects.

These animals can support the want of food very long. Some of mine have lived two months without it. Sig. Spallanzani had remarked the same ; and observed that, although long deprived of nutriment, they reproduced their members equally well as those plentifully supplied with sustenance.

In my opinion, no insect is better adapted for food than the earth worm : we may almost affirm, that nature has purposely prepared it for feeding various animals. There are few places where worms do not abound ; and as they may  
be

(1) M. de Maupertuis first proved that newts are perfectly innocent. *Mem. de l'Academ. de Paris*, 1727.

be divided into various pieces, and still move, they are admirably suited for the food of newts. Another advantage attends them, which is the property of remaining several days alive in water; and it is their motion that particularly excites the appetite of newts. A worm presented on the end of a pencil, or dropped into the water, is seized with a sudden motion of the animal's jaws, and swallowed alive, with gentle shocks of the whole body, and especially of the anterior part. A considerable time is occupied in swallowing the worm, if it is large; and it sometimes remains two or three minutes in the newt's mouth, folding in various shapes while life remains. The portion hanging out very much resembles a long thick tongue; and its numerous contortions exhibit a most singular spectacle.

My newts have always appeared to swallow their prey without mastication; however, they have a number of very minute teeth, which undoubtedly are not totally useless; and they serve to retain the prey, if attempting to escape.

A large worm, seized by the middle, is seldom swallowed in the same position, because it is too large if doubled in the mouth; and the newt gradually shakes it out, until it can seize one of the extremities; which being accomplished, the worm is soon devoured. However I have observed a large one swallow a worm taken by the middle,

middle, without seizing an extremity; but a quarter of an hour was occupied in the meal.

Though newts are provided with flexible, jointed fingers, it is remarkable that they make no use of the hand, either to seize their prey, to convey it to the mouth, or retain it there. Yet I have never seen it done; they never seemed to use their hands for this, or any thing else indeed, but swimming (1).

They first seem to fix their eyes on their prey, and immediately dart upon it open mouthed; and when once seized, it very seldom escapes. The successive motions of deglutition are very sensible; it is performed by gentle shocks, as we have just remarked. I have not observed newts search for prey; they take it when it occurs in their way, or is just beside them. A newt having devoured a large earth worm, I supplied it with another above four inches long, and thick in proportion. It immediately swallowed the whole, except a line or two that hung out of the mouth; but the worm was soon thrown up, and the same repeated twice, yet the worm still lived.

It

(1) Neither do toads, which have also articulated fingers, make any use of them. However, I have seen one small species, which profited by their assistance, to retain the prey while devouring it.

It might be supposed that the amputation of the limbs is most painful, and that the animals would suffer long and severely from it: however, one of my observations apparently infers the reverse. I cut the left hand and the right foot off a large newt, and a stream of blood, as thick as a hog's bristle, continued spouting out nearly two minutes without intermission. Not only did the animal seem not in the least enfeebled by the loss of blood, but, in scarcely a quarter of an hour, to my great surprise, it swallowed two earthworms.

Sometimes worms are devoured entire, notwithstanding all their exertions to escape. They twine round the neck of the newt like a serpent: every moment they become shorter, and gradually disappear, according to the portion which enters the body. Thus have I seen a newt swallow a worm, more than six inches long, in less than five minutes.

III. *Spoliation of newts.*—It cannot properly be said that newts change their skin, for it is only the epidermis which is thrown off (1); at least, the spoil is so thin and transparent, that it seems to correspond with an epidermis only. It is of a whitish

(1) M. de Fay has already remarked this fact in his curious memoir on newts, to which I refer the reader, *Mém. de l'Acad. de Paris*, 1729.

whitish colour, and resembles the finest gauze ; indeed it is almost as fine as a spider's web. What poets have figured of phantoms may be applied to the spoil of newts. The whole body appears : we see the hands, fingers, feet and tail, but all in a shade floating in the water.

When the period of change approaches, the fine skin is observed detaching from the body. The head first loses it ; then the rest of the anterior part ; next the middle, and the posterior part. Sometimes the spoil, cast by the head, forms like a gauze collar or cravat around the neck ; or it is adjusted on the head, like a capuchin or head dress.

The commencement of separation, from the back and belly, is discovered by viewing the newt obliquely from one side, in a strong light. The skin of the belly is further detached, because it falls down by its own weight.

Approaching spoliation is recognised by conspicuous and unequivocal symptoms. The back, viewed obliquely, appears whitish, and as if covered with a spider's web. This is the effect of the spoil beginning to separate. If closely examined with the naked eye, or a magnifier of small power, it seems composed of minute scales covering the callosities or tubercles, which shagreen the body of the newt. But, when examined with more attention, and in a favourable light,

light, this epidermis is discovered to be a beautiful reticulation, the meshes of which are visible to the naked eye.

Many observations could be made on the texture of this delicate membrane ; and these might greatly tend to elucidate the nature and origin of the epidermis, which, notwithstanding all the researches of physiologists, are so little known ; and newts would afford frequent opportunities for deeply investigating the point.

From particular attention to the newts in my possession, I have observed, that there is not the smallest resemblance between this operation and what is exhibited by caterpillars, and many other insects. The skin is detached here and there, and often in different sized plates ; and the change is slow, for it occupies one or two days, and I have even known it take three. During spoliation, the newt continues moving about in the water, with all the usual motions of newts that undergo none ; therefore it is no disease, and it does not affect them as it does insects. While the change is going on, the animal darts on its prey, holds and devours it.

Sometimes spoliation is difficult to be accomplished ; but, in these cases, the newt knows to practise certain manœuvres, to facilitate the operation, which I have often beheld with pleasure. It alternately raises and depresses the right arm



and left leg, at the same time with gentle vibrations of the whole body. It frequently darts suddenly towards the surface of the water, and the next moment precipitates itself to the bottom ; and these manœuvres I have seen continued above half an hour. But the sudden exertion, in all its motions, indicated that the newt was impatient at the tediousness of the change.

When most of the spoil is thrown off, and the animal, to disengage itself from the rest, rapidly rises to the surface, it seems carried along in a cloud ; for the whiteness, fineness, and semi-transparency of the spoil, floating around it, is no imperfect representation of a cloud.

I never observed the fingers employed in detaching the spoil. Both young newts and those full grown cast several successive skins : some of large size are in my possession, that have done so before me. Reproducing limbs throw off the epidermis as well as the original.

I have seen the skin of the head, which formed like a collar or cravat round the neck, gradually come down the belly of a large newt that had lost the arms, and fasten like a tight girdle.

Nothing can accurately be said of the number and interval of mutations. Between the 14 of July and the 7 of September, a newt has changed its skin eleven times.

1 change,

1 change, 14 July.	6 change, 9 August.
2            17	7            —
3            20	8            19
4            24	9            24
5            30	10           26
	11           6 September.

Spoliation sometimes makes a slight change in the colour.

IV. *Reproduction of newts.*—It is long before I arrive at that part of the history which is most interesting, namely, the reproduction of the members of newts. My experiments began 5 June 1777; and, in the course of that and the following month, fifteen newts were mutilated, some very young, and the rest full grown. All the former died, and several whose increment was complete. As this treatise is limited to the successful experiments, those that were fruitless shall be suppressed.

I shall denominate the anterior extremities, *arms* and *hands*; and the posterior, *legs* and *feet*: circuitous expressions will thus be avoided.

On the hand are only four fingers, but there are five toes on the feet. It has already been remarked that they are well articulated, and nearly resemble our own. They neither have nails, nor are they connected by intermediate membranes; but I repeat, that my purpose is to avoid descriptions.

EXPERIMENT I. *The right arm and left leg amputated.*—On the sixth of June, I cut the right arm and left leg off a large newt, very near the body. A stream of florid blood spouted a minute and a half from each wound; however, the vessels soon closed, and the newt was apparently as well as those unmutated. But it will easily occur that it did not swim with equal facility.

When about a month had elapsed, I began to perceive a papilla, of a violet grey colour, near the edge of the trunk or section. This was the origin of a new arm and leg, which gradually increased; and, on the 14 of July, appeared such as fig. 1, *c, c*, plate 9.

The two papillæ continued growing on the subsequent days, but more in length than thickness. They became minute stumps; and, on the first of August, were about two lines long. Fig. 2, 3, represents the natural size: the trunk *t, t*, which has grown none, and is of a much darker colour, is clearly distinguished from the reproductions, *b, c*. A kind of cleft, *s*, hardly perceptible, announces the appearance of two toes, which nature labours to produce, or rather to expand, on the new foot. No cleft appears on the originating arm.

The two toes were easily recognised on the seventh. They were real miniatures, and truly most minute, fig. 5. The stump of the arm,  
nearly

nearly as it was on the first of the month, is seen fig. 4. It is now somewhat larger, but as yet there is no indication of fingers. Fig. 6. represents it on the ninth.

It is pleasing to observe the little hand fully unfolding, while only three fingers of unequal length are visible: the middle one is the longest. The arm has made no sensible progress. The new foot had four toes also of unequal length; the first and second of which are longest; the other two only begin to appear; the fourth is scarcely perceptible. One can never tire contemplating these miniatures, and admiring the wonders of the organic kingdom.

Evolution advanced every day. On the 22 of August, the regenerated members were as fig. 8, 9. They began to deepen in colour, so that the line, discriminating the old parts from the new, was no longer so conspicuous; but the black specks on the toes of unmutated newts were still imperceptible. The difference between these toes and those of fig. 1 is evident here. Four well shaped fingers were already on the hand, fig. 8; but only four toes, equally well formed, of the five which the foot regenerates, fig. 9; and they have to acquire more size, consistence, and colour.

I continued my observations on the daily evolution of the members; and the following were

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their dimensions in length, on the 20 of September.

<i>Old Members.</i>		<i>New Members.</i>	
Arm,	4 lines.	Arm,	$2\frac{1}{2}$
Cubit,	$3\frac{1}{2}$	Cubit,	$2\frac{1}{2}$
Thigh,	3	Thigh,	$2\frac{2}{3}$
Leg,	4	Leg,	$2\frac{1}{4}$
Longest finger,	$3\frac{1}{3}$	Longest finger,	$1\frac{1}{2}$
Longest toe,	$4\frac{1}{2}$	Longest toe,	$1\frac{1}{3}$

Even in the beginning of October, the fifth toe of the new foot was not visible.

**EXPERIMENT II.** *A newt deprived of the right arm and left hand.*—On the 12 of June, I cut the left hand and right arm off a newt : my chief object in this experiment was to verify Sig. Spallanzani's assertion, that nature reproduces exactly the portion amputated, which was a fact of the utmost importance in the theory of animal reproductions, and could not be too well established.

Towards one side of the section, a little conical nipple began to appear about the 7 or 8 of July, of a violet grey colour. An incipient cleft, indistinctly seen with the naked eye, was perceptible near the middle of July : the papilla seemed ready to divide in two ; and the cleft was the origin of two fingers.

In

In two or three days, I remarked a new cleft at the upper extremity of the papilla, which was the beginning of a new finger: the third, in its turn, appeared on the nineteenth. The conical papilla had then disappeared; and in its place was seen a small open hand with four fingers, still very minute, but quite well shaped. It is drawn from nature, such as it then was, fig. 10. That papilla, from which originated a new arm, gradually extended: at first it was similar to the papilla, *c*, fig. 1. but towards the end of July, or beginning of August, it increased so much as to resemble that of fig. 2. exactly.

On the third of August, the cone began to divide, that is, two fingers became evident, fig. 11. Close examination is required, for the division of the fingers is hardly visible, *r*. the trunk *t*.

On the ninth, a hand extremely minute, but the most beautiful object imaginable, was observed at the extremity of the arm. The fingers, all of unequal length, were distinguished, the smallest being just perceptible. This is correctly designed, fig. 12. The trunk *t*, or part of the original arm, is connected to the body. It may be recognised by the brown colour, and from being covered with white points. The new arm *b* is of a lighter and uniform colour. Four fingers

of the hand, *m*, are visible : the largest not above half a line in length.

The hand of the left arm had made considerable progress on the 21 : it had expanded, and nearly acquired the figure peculiar to the newt's hand. The fingers also had extended, and become thicker in proportion. The whole hand began to colour, and brown specks were distinguishable on different parts ; they were more evident on the back of the hand than on the fingers. This will be better understood by fig. 13. than any description can render it ; and on comparing this with fig. 10, we obtain a more correct idea of the progress of evolution.

The reproduced arm is designed, fig. 14. as observed on the twenty-first. The hand has already assumed its natural shape, and the rapid progress of evolution is suspending. Colouring of the arm begins near the trunk ; but all the rest is of a mixed grey and violet,

Though I have not hitherto expressly said so, it will obviously be presumed, that there is a kind of semi-transparency in the reproduced parts, which the original members have not. This continues long, and changes slowly as the reproductions colour. The transparency is evidently greater on the edges of the fingers than elsewhere, if examined with a magnifier, they seem inclosed in a fine diaphanous envelope : but nothing

thing of this is evident in the old fingers. Parts beginning to unfold naturally have a degree of transparency wanting in those further advanced, or fully expanded, because, with the progress of evolution, the calibre of the vessels increases, which allows admission to more gross and colouring particles. Whiteness and transparency apparently constitute the primitive state of organic bodies. It is this primitive state which we design by the word *germ*; and which we can comprehend, when the organic whole is expanded to a certain extent. But there is here a term beyond which we cannot ascend; for the organic whole either becomes so minute or so transparent, that it escapes all research and our most perfect instruments.

The dimensions of the old and new members, in length, were as follows, on the 2 of September.

<i>Old Members.</i>		<i>New Members.</i>	
Arm,	$3\frac{1}{4}$ lines.	Arm,	$2\frac{1}{3}$
Cubit,	$3\frac{1}{2}$	Cubit,	$2\frac{1}{4}$
Longest finger,	$1\frac{1}{2}$	Longest finger,	$1\frac{1}{2}$

EXPERIMENT III. *Two fingers and three toes amputated.*—I cut two fingers and three toes off a large newt, 15 July. A little elevation was perceptible on the section of each finger, on the



26. At the end of each trunk, a new finger appeared, 20 August. The fingers, *n, n*, are designed, fig. 15. The whole magnified is more distinct, fig. 16. The fingers have yet grown very little.

The five toes are magnified, fig. 17. Considerable part of three that had lost about one half, is already reproduced, and the new production is at the extremity of the old portion, *a, a*. An irregular curve, separating the two parts, is very conspicuous here, and evinces that the old portion has grown none.

EXPERIMENT IV. *The right hand of a newt longitudinally divided, and two fingers amputated. The other hand cut transversely.*—On the third of August, I made a longitudinal incision through the right hand of a large newt, in such a manner as to separate two of the fingers. At the same time, I amputated the other hand in the middle, by a transverse section.

The left stump exhibited the usual conical papilla on the 22. It began to divide on the 30; and three originating fingers became distinctly visible.

On the same day, a new finger appeared on the side of the right hand. Two of the fingers had been left entire, *a, a*, fig. 18. A sensible eminence, *e*, on the section of the hand, preceded the

the origin of the new fingers, which is very evident, *r*. On the first of September, a second finger began to grow beside the other, and on the fourth, this hand, which had been cut longitudinally, was as it is represented fig. 19. The two fingers which replace those amputated, *r*, *r*. On the same day, the new hand growing from the left arm, was nearly as fig. 10.

This experiment is attended by a most remarkable consequence; that a hand, longitudinally divided, should reproduce exactly the amputated part, and reproduce it both in the manner and place most consonant to its natural figure and functions.

The hand was designed anew, 9 September, that one may judge better of the position of the regenerated fingers and the progress of their evolution, fig. 20.

EXPERIMENT V. *An oblique section of the hand, so that only one finger remained.*—It would be too precipitate to conclude, from the preceding experiment, that nature never reproduces more than the portion amputated, and she herself would disclaim it. Nevertheless, decisive experiments prove the fact. On the 21 of August, I cut the right hand of a newt, in such a manner as to leave only the first finger. Four very minute papillæ appeared on the edge of the section,

tion, 13 September. I could easily recognise them for the rudiments of four new fingers. Yet, from the danger of deception, I suspended my opinion; however, as evolution sensibly advanced, four small well shaped fingers arose, which it was impossible to mistake, fig. 21. Their arrangement is irregular, for the first and second seem united, and the distance between them is a little less than between the two last, *c, d*.

Behold a hand with five fingers, though nature has given the animal only four. However, it is not uncommon to meet with such anomalies in these reproductions. Sig. Spallanzani has observed many, which he will describe with his usual acuteness and perspicuity. It is evident, that the place where the cut is made, the mode of making it, the state of the part itself, and of parts connected, may give birth to infinite varieties and singularities; and some will be real monstrosities, either by defect, excess, or transposition.

It must be observed, that in this case, reproduction was not announced by one papilla only, as in the first two experiments, but by four very minute, and quite distinct, ranged in the same line, and in the direction in which the instrument had performed the operation.

#### EXPERIMENT

EXPERIMENT VI. *The tail of a newt amputated transversely.*—Something important would have been wanting, had I neglected amputation of the tail, which is a very intricate great organic substance. It is formed of a series of minute vertebrae, with arteries, veins, and nerves, and it is covered with muscles and flesh.

The tail of a large newt is more than two inches long, and about half an inch thick; formed like an oar, and terminated by a soft point. Much might be said of the figure, proportions, and position of this organ, and with respect to the functions it has to exercise; but these would be details foreign to my purpose; I only mean to confirm what Sig. Spallanzani has advanced concerning the admirable reproduction of the members.

When the tails of large newts were amputated near the origin, I never succeeded in obtaining reproduction; the whole died in a certain time; and, for several weeks preceding death, a kind of whitish cotton mould grew on the wounds, the filaments of which were several lines in length. Nevertheless, I cannot think that this affected the animal's life, for I had seen similar mould, or cottony filaments, on wounds occasioned by amputating the arms and legs. These filaments gradually disappeared, and unequivocal signs of reproduction

reproduction soon became visible. Thus a good observation was never obtained, unless the tail was divided about the middle, and by a section perpendicular to the axis. A stream of blood, as thick as a hog's bristle, always spouted from the wound. The large vessel, from which it flows, is situated near the vertebræ, and its orifice is visible by the naked eye; it immediately closes; and the orifice is distinguished by a reddish or brownish point.

The tail of newts is very sensible, which is particularly evident in the slenderest part. A portion cut off will retain life, and move whole hours; and when life seems entirely extinct, we have only to prick the pointed extremity, that motion may be renewed; it rises and falls alternately, and with greater force, according to the period that has elapsed since the operation. The motion of this separated part bears great resemblance to that which is peculiar to certain apodal worms; it is undulatory, and evidently depends on irritability, which is extremely active in so muscular an organ.

Immediately after the operation, the area of the cut exhibits a very long ellipse; the two extremities almost terminating in a point. The smallest diameter is about a line across, and the largest five or six. In the centre, are the vertebræ,

bræ, or blood vessels; the rest of the area seems full of small oblong clear white substances, which one would suppose pieces of fat, or glands. The surface slowly contracts; the opposite sides approach; the colour of the substances becomes fainter, and in a certain time, which is according to the season, new flesh appears, and it daily increases. Then we observe one or two cross brown lines, occupying the middle of the new tail, which indicate the site of the vertebræ and the vessels. The first evolution is designed, fig. 22; the part reproduced, *n*, is thinner and more transparent than the rest; the brown line, *e*. At the extremity, is a small internal cavity, *m*, very perceptible in the figure, which I have uniformly found in reproducing tails. This tail had been divided on the 11 of July; and on the 14 of August the reproduced part was about three lines and a half long, and four and a half in diameter, at the base.

The new portion was ten lines in length, 20 September, and shaped exactly like the tail of a newt. I could observe no difference between the motions of this regenerated tail, and those of tails unmutated. It was again designed, 8 October, fig. 23; the reproduced parts, *r, r*. The edges of the old trunk had then grown none; they are clearly distinguished, *t, t*.  
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Those of the regenerated part had a peculiar transparency, wanting in the rest of the tail (1).

GENERAL RESULTS AND REFLECTIONS.—  
Other experiments have been made on newts, which confirm the first, but I pass them in silence, to avoid repetitions and the multiplicity of details. What I have said, seems sufficient for my principal object, which is only to establish the discovery of my illustrious friend the Abbé Spallanzani. When his large work appears, naturalists will there behold with astonishment, the various prodigies for which we are indebted to the singular sagacity of this celebrated observer, and of which this little tract can give but a very imperfect idea. So much inferior to the subject do I find my own experiments, that I never should have thought of publishing them, had not new confirmation been desired, and had not the Abbé himself wished my testimony in addition to his. I next proceed to deduce some general results

(1) Had not the fear of fatiguing my eyes too much deterred me, I should have endeavoured to compare the new limbs with the old, by dissection, and the same with respect to the head of the snail. But, in my opinion, the simple narrative of facts, or inspection of the figures, are sufficient to demonstrate the reality of the reproductions, and the similarity of the new members to the old.

results from my experiments, which shall be limited to those directly flowing from facts.

The first, which is evident, respects the time employed by nature in preparing for the reparation of mutilated members. In the arm polypus, and fresh water worms, which may also be multiplied from sections, reproduction is immediate, and in one or two days, during spring or summer, there are sensible indications of regeneration. It is very late in newts, on the other hand; and only, after an interval of several weeks, do any symptoms of renewal appear: thus, in the newt, fig. 1. it was imperceptible till about five weeks after the operation; and a month was required for preparing the reproduction of the newt mutilated 12 June. Polypi and fresh water worms are gelatinous; they neither have bones, nor any part that can ossify. But it is by no means the same with newts; for they are actually small quadrupeds, and, as quadrupeds, have bones covered with muscles and flesh. All these parts exist in a gelatinous state, previous to their appearance. This gelatine, however, unquestionably opposes more resistance to the power which effects increment, than is done by that of polypi and fresh water worms, for the structure is more complicated. Thus we should not be astonished at the slow progress of evolution in large newts; in this case, it is even more

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immediate



immediate than when the newt is old, as the Abbé Spallanzani has already observed, and as I myself have seen. The reason is evident ; for the younger an animal is, the more ductile or pliant are its solids, because their fluids are more abundant. Irritability has also greater energy in young animals, because they are more gelatinous. We have seen in the Memoir on the reproduction of snails, that a considerable time is necessary before the new part becomes perceptible.

The second fact demonstrated by my experiments, respects the first appearance of the members. A conical papilla arises, which, compared to a vegetable bud, we may call an animal bud. But the comparison must be extended no farther, for the vegetable bud is properly only the envelope of a plantula, whereas this animal bud is the member itself, infinitely contracted in miniature. The fact is evinced, by attending to the progress of evolution. The summit of the papilla divides in two, and we immediately discover that division is produced, by the separation of two fingers, formerly united or confounded together in the same organic mass ; the like ensues with all the fingers, which successively appear. The papilla is therefore a real hand, or foot, already formed ; but the concentration, minuteness, and transparency, prevent it from being recognised in its original state. Yet it must be observed,

served, that reproduction of the tail is not accomplished exactly in the same way as that of the other members; it is not announced by a papilla rising in the centre, but by a thin semi-transparent plate, extending over the whole, or most of the section, and very much resembling an edge-tool in figure.

From a third fact, it seems to result, that the members replacing those mutilated, are not properly *generated*, but that they originally existed in miniature in the great organic whole, and are only now unfolded. This we are obliged to admit, on considering that the animal bud is the member itself, already formed, and requiring nothing but size, strength, and colour, to bring it to perfection. Therefore, it is probable that the reproduced members pre-existed in germs of excessive minuteness, and that all their parts were there. The species, proportion, and position of these, which I may call *reproductive* germs, regulate the kind, the manner, and the place of reproduction. Here it is needless to demonstrate how unphilosophical it would be to resort to formations purely *mechanical*, for an explanation of these admirable reproductions. My method of philosophising on this important subject is known; and it gives me great satisfaction, that Sig. Spallanzani's numerous and beautiful experiments on infusion animalcula and animal reproduction,

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confirm

confirm the principles which, above thirty years ago, I had adopted, concerning the origin and evolution of organic beings. The work, 'which that excellent philosopher has lately published; teaches us what our real sentiments should be of the *vegetative powers* and *organic molecules* of celebrated modern Epigenists. Not only has he rigorously demonstrated the falsity of their hypotheses, by infinite various and correct experiments, but he has discovered the cause of error; and shewn what the authors should do to avoid it. I cannot too earnestly exhort naturalists to read and reflect on this beautiful work, which I may justly consider one of the most perfect models of the art of observation (1).

In the fourth place, it is evident that nature in general reproduces exactly the portion amputated; thus, when a hand is cut off, nature renews a hand only; if an arm is amputated, she regenerates one with all its parts. But, as already remarked, there are various exceptions to this law, and the fifth experiment is a striking instance of it. Sig. Spallanzani will describe many more singular, which his long experiments have given him an opportunity to observe. It may well be conceived, that it is not difficult  
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(1) Tracts on the Natural history of animals and vegetables.

to produce numerous artificial kinds of monstrosity, and that these may throw much light on the theory of animal reproductions. Certainly these wonderful operations are regulated by laws which depend on the nature and relation of various organic wholes, and it is the investigation of such laws that should chiefly occupy the philosophic naturalist. Some will be found more or less general, or special; some subordinate to others, and all to a more comprehensive law, that regulates the whole organic system. Here nothing happens by chance; all has been weighed, calculated, and combined, with respect to possible occurrences, and there is not the smallest alimentary atom in this wonderful system of organs, without its proportions, its motion, its place, and purpose. Thus, what we denominate anomalous, or monstrous, is the necessary consequence of the admirable laws which govern the organic world, and of course a confirmation that such laws exist.

There is a fifth result to be observed. When only a hand is amputated, what succeeds it is at first much larger than what unfolds at the extremity of a new arm. This is evident by comparing fig. 10 and 12. In the germ prepared for reproducing an arm and all its accompaniments, the integrant parts of the hand should be smaller than in the germ, which contains no more than the reparatory elements of a hand;

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at least, observations seem to indicate this, for the conical papilla preceding an arm, is no larger than that preceding a hand. Probably the body of a newt includes a number of germs of different kinds, appropriated to the various reproductions that are to ensue, and each germ is placed in the situation and manner best corresponding to its evolution. But I should refer to what is said on the subject, Part 9. 10, of *La Palingénésie*.

A sixth result arises from the evolution of the fingers and toes. It is not effected in the same proportion as evolution of the arm and leg. Now, when I write this, the tenth of October, the new arm and leg of the newt, which was mutilated 6 June, have nearly attained the size of the original members, while the regenerated fingers and toes have not acquired half their natural size; yet they are perfectly well formed, and execute all the functions peculiar to these parts.

The seventh and last result is presented by the trunk of the mutilated members. While the reproducing part unfolded, I never observed any elongation of the trunk. In this respect, there is a coincidence with the state of the trunk of earth worms, and of those fresh water worms which I multiplied by sections thirty-six years ago; and the truth of this observation may be judged of, by inspecting fig. 2. 3. 10. 12. 17. 22. 23. plate 9. The same ensues in regeneration of





of the snail. When the fibres of an organised body are indurated to a certain degree, they are no longer susceptible of extension; there is a term beyond which the elements of the solids cannot glide along each other. This result affords an opportunity of observing, that it evidently concurs in proving the part to be actually a new organic whole, which expands on the old one, and is in a manner ingrafted on it. In another treatise, I have insisted much on the point.

Perhaps this Memoir may be followed by another, containing the sequel of my experiments. I intend to diversify them greatly, and thus give birth to new facts by new combinations. But it must be remembered, that all which it is in my power to do, will even be infinitely inferior to what the public may expect from the learning, ability, and industry of the celebrated Reggian philosopher. No naturalist has equally enriched the history, so new and interesting, of *Infusion Animalcula* and *Animal Reproductions*; and I may predict, that his account of the generation of animals and vegetables, will not be less valuable. How impatiently would the admirers of natural history expect these new fruits of the indefatigable observer's labour, did they know, as I do, the important and unexpected truths which they contain.



## M E M O I R II.

My observations were continued on the newts, whose history I have given in the preceding memoir. That which was mutilated on the fifth of June 1777, and the subject of my first experiment, died on the tenth of December; but what occasioned its death I am ignorant. The limbs increased and coloured: the fifth toe was wanting; indeed I did not expect it after the beginning of October.

The newt, mutilated 3 August, which is mentioned in the fourth experiment, passed the winter safely in my apartment, and lived until 8 April 1778: it then died, probably from neglect to renew the water. The two new fingers, longitudinally divided, had not acquired above half their natural length.

The newt of the sixth experiment, whose tail was mutilated 11 July, shared the same fate as the preceding. It died towards the middle of November. The tail had extended very much; and the new part could scarcely be distinguished from the old, except by the lighter colour.

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I had more reason to regret losing the subject of my fifth experiment, that is, the newt which had lost three fingers and reproduced four. The monstrosity rendered it precious. It had been carefully preserved during winter, and was in perfect health in the following spring; therefore I cannot tell from what cause it died. Sig. Spallanzani has proved, that worms are found in these little quadrupeds; perhaps their numbers might occasion death. Whatever it was, the four new fingers had grown considerably, and become dark coloured; but their arrangement was equally irregular as at first.

Here I may remark, that it is unnecessary to change the water as often in winter as during summer. That in a vessel, containing one large newt, has remained eight days pure in winter; while it has become turbid in two or three, and sometimes sooner, during summer. Newts then perspire, and evacuate more copiously, and are also more voracious. The ejecta are grey filaments, or flocks, floating in the water (1).

It is incredible how long the new fingers require to attain the size of the old. I have had newts, whose fingers, in thirteen months and  
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(1) Newts frequently void small round or oval substances, of a brown colour, but of very little consistence. Some are at least as large as a pea.

more, were not as large as those of unmutated members.

In general I have supposed it was otherwise with the arm and thigh reproduced, and with the cubit and leg; for the former, in both cases, sooner acquire their proper size, as is already remarked in the sixth result of the preceding memoir. The like succeeds with the tail. But all these reproductions are very slow, when compared with those of polypi and fresh water worms; reasons for which are assigned in the first memoir.

I shall now proceed to my new experiments on quadrupeds, so worthy of the attention of naturalists.

EXPERIMENT I. *Whether reproduced members possess the same sources of reproduction as those amputated.*—I cut the left arm and right thigh off a large newt, 2 June 1778. In the beginning of July, a new arm and thigh began to reproduce. They were still in miniature, but the fingers and toes sufficiently formed, and very distinct. They were nearly as those of fig. 6, 7, plate 9.

On the eleventh of July, I made an experiment, which was most important in the theory of animal reproductions. The object was to discover whether the members now reproducing, which in reality were miniatures, contained the same sources of reparation as the original; that  
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is, whether there were, in new limbs, germs containing members in miniature, similar to those amputated. With this view, I cut off the regenerated hand and foot.

At the extremity of the reproduced leg, on the 21, appeared two new toes extremely minute, but easily recognisable by the naked eye: and, on the 24, an originating hand, with three well shaped fingers, appeared at the extremity of the new arm.

The foot, now reproduced, exhibited four very distinct toes. Both these and the fingers were yet only one fourth, or one third, of a line long.

Therefore it is proved, by this first experiment, that the reproduced limbs of a newt can make new productions, in the same manner as the old ones can, and give birth to members which, in their essential parts, resemble those amputated, and are different only in size, consistence, and colour: for, as was remarked in my former memoir, the new members are of more delicate texture, and of a much lighter colour than the old.

It was undoubtedly most interesting to ascertain how far the resources of nature extended; and whether, after several successive mutilations of the reproduced member, a new one would still regenerate.

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On the 31 of July, for the second time, I cut off the reproduced hand and foot of my newt; the fingers and toes being then about a line long.

Two new fingers and toes appeared at the extremity of the limbs, 13 August; therefore a hand and foot had begun to regenerate. On the 15, there were three fingers and toes already well formed, though very small.

Both the hand and foot seemed quite repaired on the 24, though still of extreme minuteness. All the fingers had grown, but only four toes. And it may now be observed, that the appearance of the fifth toe is constantly later; often it does not unfold.

On the same day, 24 August, I amputated the reproduced hand and arm the third time; and, on the 13 of October, performed the fourth operation: the limbs being then in the same state as those mutilated by the third amputation.

Thus it is fully established, that every member, successively reproduced, contains new sources of reparation; and that they are actually existing, though the member is extremely minute.

From these successive mutilations of reproduced members, I have thought the extremity of the leg and arm became a little thicker than usual, as if from a reflux of the nutritive fluids into the extremity, by such repeated amputations.

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This season was particularly favourable to my experiments, being always dry and warm. A mercurial thermometer, in the shade, completely isolated, on a large terrace, stood at  $90^{\circ}$  and  $93^{\circ}$ , on the 14 and 15 of August. Most of summer it stood between  $79^{\circ}$  and  $81^{\circ}$ ; and the temperature of the apartment, where the newt was kept, differed very little from that of the open air.

EXPERIMENT II. When a large newt was treated as has just been related, I made another experiment on one of similar size, to obtain comparative results.

The left arm and thigh were severed 2 June 1778. Reproduction of new members commenced in the beginning of July: two well shaped toes were then on the foot. On the 11, new limbs had replaced the old; they seemed completely repaired: still they were only miniatures of most delicate texture. This day I amputated the reproduced hand and foot.

A new foot, with two distinct toes, was perceptible on the 22; and three were visible on the 24. But the new hand had not appeared; at least there was no evidence of originating fingers. The thermometer now stood about  $84^{\circ}$ . However, a new hand, with three perfect fingers, was seen on the 29.

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The reproduced hand and foot being a full line long on the 31, I then cut them off. Both appeared again 15 August, with three well shaped fingers and toes. On the 24, the hand had acquired its four fingers, and the foot five toes, all visible, though excessively small.

I then cut off the hand and foot for the third time. The fingers and toes were a full line long 13 October; four of each appeared, but the fifth toe was yet imperceptible.

Next I performed a fourth amputation: it also was followed by reproductions. Various occupations having interrupted me, a fifth amputation was not made before 26 August 1779.

The longest finger was then about one line and a third, the longest toe one and a half in length, deep coloured and very slender. The hand had four fingers; the first and fourth imperfect. The foot had only three toes, more distant from each other than usual. Both the fingers were as imperfect 30 October 1780: the fourth scarcely visible, and consisting only of a short point; and no more than three toes on the foot. The newt had then diminished greatly in size, and was very brown. It ate little, and seldom: it remained long at the surface, unable to get to the bottom of the water; and its belly was almost always very much inflated.

These

These are two experiments, therefore, which concur in establishing the same fact, namely, that the reproduced members of a newt, though still in miniature, are equally provided with reparatory germs as the old limbs ; and that they begin to unfold after the new members are cut off.

EXPERIMENT III. *A foot cut obliquely, and a hand longitudinally.*—Experiments such as I relate cannot be sufficiently diversified. The place and mode of section must have a certain influence on the place and mode of reproduction. Undoubtedly the germs, destined for these prodigies, cannot be fortuitously disseminated in the members. It is much more philosophical to believe, that they are arranged in an order which we should admire, if our most powerful magnifiers could bring them into view. But we are still incapable of penetrating the secret organization of an animal : all that is permitted us to do, is reduced to a few experiments on what the mind can comprehend. Chiefly with this view, have I amputated the limbs of newts in different ways ; that is, sometimes transversely, sometimes more or less obliquely, and sometimes longitudinally. And the detail of an experiment is now to be given, executed in the second and third manner, as enough has been said of the first.

On



On the 29 of January 1778, I cut the left foot of a large newt obliquely, leaving only the first toe. The four amputated toes were renewed 5 June; but not exactly in the same position as when the section was perpendicular to the length. The extremity of the foot was a little swelled, fig. 1, plate 10: the toe preserved, 1; those reproduced, 2, 3, 4, 5; the swelling of the foot, *r*. To judge of the difference arising from the two modes of operation, this figure must be compared with fig. 9, plate 9.

On the same day, I endeavoured to divide the left hand of the animal longitudinally through the middle, extending the section as far as the arm. Mould appeared on the wound in a few days, and made rapid progress. Part of the member at last mortified, and three fingers disappeared.

The arm and hand were, as represented fig. 2, on the 5 of June: the finger preserved, 1; those reproduced, 2, 3, 4, which are not quite in the same position as observed in a transverse amputation; the extremity, *r*, is sensibly swelled.

It should be observed, that in this experiment, as well as in almost the whole related, nature reproduced an equal number of parts as those amputated; which is a fact well deserving consideration.

#### EXPERIMENT

EXPERIMENT IV. *The limbs of a newt cut longitudinally through the middle.*—I divided the right hand and foot of a newt longitudinally, 16 June 1778. In a few days, the wounds were covered with whitish mould, which grew rapidly. It gradually became thicker and longer, and, as I foresaw, announced the loss of the limbs. I removed it several times with a pencil, but it constantly returned. This singular production requires more profound investigation than I was able to bestow on it. It evidently consisted of extremely delicate filaments, similar to what characterise the mould originating on humid animal and vegetable substances. Sometimes the filaments grew half an inch long, and even more. Something similar occurred in the fresh water worms, multiplied by sections, in 1741, 1742; and I then considered the mould as a precursor of gangrene. While observing it on the newts, the same idea recurred; and I thought of anointing the wounds with a pencil dipped in a solution of bark, but I cannot affirm that this was more efficacious than the former plan resorted to. Whatever was the case, notwithstanding all my care, the third toe and second finger fell off about the end of June. Longitudinal divisions certainly occasion the greatest disorder in the parts, and particularly in the vessels;

at least, the wound is very large, and a great internal surface laid open.

The parts of each member, separated by the operation, were fully united, and the wounds cicatrised 26 July. The cicatrices had even entirely disappeared.

I now observed a small semi-transparent grey button in the middle of the foot, which announced the finger destined to replace that which had fallen off. Fig. 3, *n*, the button or papilla. The foot is a little larger than when in the natural state; and the new toe originates exactly in the proper position for replacing that which was destroyed by gangrene.

The divided hand is represented as it was 2 July, fig. 4. There is no indication of a cicatrice, all is so perfectly healed. The new production to unfold is still imperceptible.

Against August 11, the new toe had made great progress; and the papilla had assumed a figure which rendered it impossible to be mistaken for a real toe, fig. 5, *n*.

The hand is as it was the same day, fig. 6: the origin of the finger to replace the lost one, *n*. But the newt died on the 14, without my being able to discover the cause of its death.

EXPERIMENT V.—On the 27 of July, I repeated the preceding experiment on the left hand  
and

and foot of a large newt. Mould did not fail to vegetate on the wounds, and, in three days, was so abundant that the members seemed endangered. However, I accomplished the removal of great part with a pencil: but, alarmed lest I should be unable to preserve either half of the members, I resolved to amputate the moulding part by a transverse section.

In several weeks, two papillæ, announcing the reproduction of two fingers, arose on the transverse section; next arose another, on a similar section of the foot, which indicated the origin of a new toe. The enormous wounds cicatrised so well, that no vestige of them remained.

The papillæ continued growing during the subsequent weeks; and, on the 15 of September, the hand had two fingers about a line and a half long. Their position was such as to give the hand its natural shape, but they were of a lighter colour than the old fingers.

The new toe was a little longer than the largest finger, being about two lines in length. The fifth did not appear, nor was it visible on the 26 of October.

EXPERIMENT VI. *A newt deprived of the third and fourth finger of each hand, and the five toes of the left foot.*—Among the beautiful phenomena which the reproductions of newts exhibit,

one of the most striking is the constancy with which nature reproduces the same number of parts as those taken away. This is particularly true with regard to the hands. If three fingers are amputated, other three will be reproduced : if two are severed, only two will originate. I have already observed, that the consequence is less certain in mutilations of the foot ; and it frequently occurs, that four toes are regenerated when five are amputated. But I can form no conjecture on the cause of this irregularity.

I cut the third and fourth fingers off each hand of a large newt, and the five toes off the left foot, 31 July 1778. All the fingers and toes were reproduced, and grew as usual from minute papillæ : they gradually extended, and assumed the figure and proportions peculiar to fingers and toes.

On the 27 of October, the left hand only was designed, but not the right, because it was quite similar, fig. 7, *n, n*, the new fingers ; although these were well proportioned and regular, they had not attained half the natural size.

It was different with the toes. The three last, indeed, *c, d, e*, fig. 8, grew in their natural place ; but the other two, *a, b*, came above the rest, so that the second was above the third instead of being by its side. The figure of the foot was very much changed ; it was larger or swelled. I  
mention

mention these monstrosities, because they are not indifferent in the history of reproductions.

EXPERIMENT VII. *The reproductions of newts are retarded by cold.*—It is well known how much the evolution of all organized bodies is promoted by heat. Animals vegetate like plants, and heat powerfully advances their vegetation.

Thirty-seven years ago, experiments on polypi, and different species of fresh water worms, demonstrated that the reproduction of these singular animals was greatly retarded by cold. If the mutilation was towards the end of autumn, and particularly if in winter, reproduction required several weeks; and, on the other hand, it would be complete in a few days, in summer. My experiments on newts confirmed the fact in a most conspicuous manner, as will immediately appear.

On the 6 of September 1777, I cut the arm and thigh off a large newt, very near the body, and kept it in an apartment without fire until the month of January. Being then afraid of injury from the cold, I carried it to my own chamber, along with other newts, which were the subject of various experiments. All passed the winter successfully. The temperature of the chamber was commonly about  $43^{\circ}$  or  $45^{\circ}$ ; but it frequently diminished  $5^{\circ}$  or  $6^{\circ}$  during night.

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The new members were no longer on the 6 of March than they would have been in six weeks, or two months, in summer, fig. 9, 10, the originating arm *b*, the thigh *c*. Thus they were only two stumps, after an interval of six months.

Two fingers were growing at the extremity of the arm, 9 April, and three well shaped toes perceptible at the extremity of the leg, *b*, *c*, fig. 11, 12. The fourth toe, just begun to appear, fig. 12, corresponds with fig. 7 of the first memoir.

In the following month the newt died, which interrupted my observations on the course of reproduction.

EXPERIMENT VIII. *The tail of a newt divided longitudinally.*—We have seen the effect of a transverse section in the sixth experiment of the preceding Memoir. It has already been remarked, that the tail is formed of a series of small vertebræ or ossicles, and has blood vessels, nerves, flesh and muscles. Therefore this is a very complicated member; and we immediately comprehend how admirable its reproduction from a transverse section must be: for not only are the vessels, nerves, and muscles then reproduced, but likewise osseous parts of intricate structure articulated together, and playing on each other. Yet how many parts, both soft and hard, of much more

more complex structure, are in the same manner reproduced in the rest of the limbs with equal facility and regularity. Thus it may easily be conceived, if the skin of the tail is slashed, if various deep incisions are made into it, and slices of different size cut out along the vertebrae, that nature has only to heal the wounds, and repair the loss of the pieces. This I have myself beheld; and shall relate but one instance.

A slice about an inch long, and two lines broad, was cut from the tail of a large newt, 7 August 1778. The wound immediately healed; and from the 15, I saw a thin transparent slice all along the length, appropriated to replace the part taken away. In a few weeks, reproduction was complete, and the regenerated portion could not be distinguished from the rest of the tail.

REFLECTIONS.—If these experiments are compared with those of the preceding Memoir, it is evident that they all coincide in confirming the results and conclusions relative to many physiological facts found in nature. Among these is the pre-existence of germs destined to repair lost members.

When, with the view of explaining this regeneration, we recur to the *powers of relation*, an *expansive* or *vegetative power*, an *essential force*, *internal moulds*, and *organic molecules*, we certain-



ly use very scientific expressions, but to which no distinct idea can be attached (1). It is not enough to say, an effect is produced by a certain power: it must be demonstrated how we conceive the effect depends on the power: and, by admitting the existence of the cause, to give a satisfactory explanation of the principal peculiarities which the effect presents. Now, when we say a leg or an arm is produced by the *vegetative*, or any other power, who can be sensible how the existence of the limb naturally arises from supposing the power? Physical powers do not present their own limits: for any power is in itself indeterminate. How could the imaginary vegetative power determine the production of a leg rather than an arm, which it might just as readily

(1) The *powers of relation* were conceived by M. de Maupertuis. His ingenious work, *La Venus Physique*, must be consulted for understanding how he uses them in explaining the mysteries of generation.

The *vegetative* or *expansive power* was created by Mr Needham.

M. Wolf, Professor of Anatomy in Petersburg, endeavoured to introduce the *essential force* into organic nature. An account of his hypothesis may be seen, Art. 334, *Corps Organisés*, Note.

*Organic Molecules* are M. de Buffon's favourite hypothesis.

readily produce? How could it give each part of the leg that figure, proportion, and structure, which constitute the member? How could it arrange all the parts in that position and relation, in virtue of which all conspire to the same end?

To affirm that a certain expansive force, residing in the trunk of the old member, extends the vessels, nerves, muscles, and bones, is saying nothing at all: for it is evident, that only a simple stump or fleshy cone would result from such elongation. But could the cone have a hand or a foot at the extremity provided with fingers and toes? Could all their articulations be present; and could the same order and proportions prevail? Let imagination extend all the fibres of a bony substance, nothing will ever ensue but a simple osseous cone, so much the larger as imagination has rendered the force more powerful, and the expanding fibres more ductile. Could the extremity be fashioned into a certain articulation? or how could an articulation, which infers certain figures, and these frequently very intricate, arise from the simple elongation of straight or nearly parallel fibres? How could an expansive power change their direction, and dispose it so as to produce a joint, and also produce those glands in the joint which are to lubricate its parts?

What

What I now observe of the osseous parts obviously applies to those that are soft. How, for example, could extension of the fleshy fibres of a newt's tail produce that infinity of glands that cover it; and secrete the viscous fluid by which it is lubricated? How could extension of the fleshy fibres, at the root of a snail's horn, produce a new horn, and place an eye at its extremity, provided with an uvea and three humours (1)?

I shall omit the *essential force*, which a very modern Epigenesist has gratuitously ascribed to matter. It would be equivalent to admitting the *plastic nature* and *creative mind* of Redi and Hartsoecker. Besides, the same objections may be made to it as to the *expansive power*. These are expressions which enrich dictionaries, but add nothing to physiology. Here I must refer to Part II of *la Palingenésie*.

Nothing need be said on *organic molecules*, as an excellent observer has rigorously demonstrated their non-existence, by a beautiful series of experiments

(1) It is to Swammerdam's amazing dexterity in dissection that we owe our knowledge of the structure of the eye of the snail. *Vide* his excellent history of the animal in his *Biblia Naturæ*, of which there is a French translation. *Collection Academique*, Tom. 5.

periments and observations very much diversified.

With regard to *internal moulds*, I think as unfavourably of them as of *plastic forces*. It must be remarked, that what are called moulds, are not simple cylinders or solid cones, but hollow tubes, nice textures, and the like. But, independent of this difficulty, where could be the internal mould of a hand, a foot, an eye, or brain, which no longer exist in the animal, but will nevertheless be completely reproduced? Do not let us confound the secretory organs with moulds; to speak correctly, they form nothing; they only separate certain molecules for certain ends.

Thus, because I am unacquainted with any explanation merely mechanical, that will account for the leading phenomena, I admit, that in the interior of the members of the newt, there are germs destined to repair the lost parts.

My experiments seem to prove, that there are different classes of these germs, and that they are not fortuitously dispersed in the interior of the members, but distributed in regular order, relative to the different possible privations.

That there are various species of germs, seems to be ascertained, from attending to what ensues in the reproduction of the hand and foot, compared with what succeeds in reproductions of the fingers

fingers and toes. A conical papilla becomes perceptible after amputation of the hand, which continues to encrease. Two fingers appear at the summit, then three, and at last four. The papilla, in its origin, was the germ; therefore, the germ contained the four fingers and all their concomitants. But should one, two, or three fingers be amputated, one, two, or three conical papilla, much smaller, will arise, and gradually assume the figure peculiar to fingers. Therefore, these smaller papillae were originally smaller germs than those containing the whole member, and each contains only a single finger. But this is speaking incorrectly; they do not properly contain a finger; they are the finger, itself, contracted and concentrated into the smallest possible space. It is the same with the reparatory germs of the hands and feet; they are themselves hands and feet in extreme concentration. But the arms, thighs, and legs, are equally reproduced; therefore, there are germs which do not include the hands and feet alone, but also an arm or a leg.

In the same way, do I admit reparatory germs for replacing joints; for I cannot conceive the simple mechanical formation of a joint, more than of a whole finger or hand.

What I observe with respect to the reproductions of newts, should apply to those of snails,

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We have only to reflect on all that is said of the regenerated horns and eyes, and attend to their admirable organization.

It is evident, that we need not recur to germs, properly so called, for explaining the reproduction of a cutaneous or muscular fragment. In the skin and muscles, are numerous fibrilli, appropriated to repair these parts, and they unfold only when certain accidents direct the nutritive juices towards the reparatory fibrilli around the edge of the wound. Large animals, and even mankind, present many remarkable instances of similar reparations that succeed in the osseous parts.

In another place, I have explained myself at length on the various kinds of animal reproduction. There I have ascertained the different meaning that may be applied to *germs*, and explained the principles which seem most applicable to each species of reproduction (1). The enlightened and philosophic reader will decide between these principles and those which are opposed by our modern Epigenesists. Undoubtedly, he will not object the numerous germs that never unfold in newts, and other animals which repair their lost members, for he is not ignorant that the SUPREME WISDOM has proceed-

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(1) *Palingenesis*, Part 10.

ed on a general plan in calling the different families of organized beings into existence, or on plans that may comprehend all the individuals of each family. How many millions of seeds, how many millions of eggs produce nothing, yet every egg and every seed includes a minute organic whole, which never unfolds, though destined for evolution. The philosopher will not hastily conclude, that the existence of these organic wholes is useless, because it must instantly occur to him, that his knowledge is not so great as to discover all the use of beings, and because he will easily conceive, that what is not appropriated to its particular use in this world, may be so in the next (1).

Experiments on newts, snails, earth worms, and the like, seem to indicate, that the original and primitive figure of germs is spherical or elliptical; at least, this appears to result from the figure in which the members are first seen. In the beginning, they are very minute roundish buds, which gradually assume another shape that removes them farther and farther from their original one. The wonderful metamorphosis of the chicken, before it attains its perfect state, may enable us to judge of those which the limbs of newts and other regenerating animals undergo,

(1) Consult, Part 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, of the *Palingenese*.

go, before they appear fully evolved (1). But we have no means of discovering organic wholes so minute, and of contemplating their successive evolutions.

Finally, the experiments on newts demonstrate, that the germs of different orders are not fortuitously dispersed in the interior of the animals, but each placed relative to the situation of the member whose loss it is to repair. Thus an arm, or a leg, never unfolds, where there should be a hand or a foot; nor do we ever see a hand originate, where a finger only is defective. This is proved, by simple inspection of the figures, and of 4, 5, 6, in particular.

I cannot think the reparatory germs are deposited in the osseous parts, or in those that may ossify; I rather suppose they are lodged in the soft parts, as more favourable to their evolution. While a germ unfolds all its parts, engraft, or anastomose with the corresponding parts of the original whole, and form one body with it; this union is evinced by the reparation of the mutilated member, since the new part exactly resembles it. Something analogous to vegetable grafts takes place, as M. Duhamel has well described,

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(2) Vide *Considerations sur les Corps Organisés*, chap. 9. Haller, *Memoire sur le Poulet*,



The reproducing members of the newt and snail illustrate, that organic wholes may be completely developed without fecundation, in its proper sense. The most subtle or active fluids of the animal are sufficient to effect their evolution. Nothing need here be added to what is said on the subject, *Contemplation de la Nature, Chap. 3. Part 10.*

Although the same member is mutilated five or six times successively, it will be regenerated as often. Probably these successive reproductions extend further; but we are yet ignorant of their limits. These can be discovered by experiment alone; but it is evident that they cannot be infinite. In the same fresh water worm, I formerly saw twelve successive reparations (1).

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(1) *Traite d'Insectologie.* 'It is very probable, that the property of these insects, to renew a head or tail, when deprived of either, is proportioned to the number and nature of the accidents to which they are exposed.'

In rivulets, I have sometimes found worms that had lost the head or tail, and then repaired it. Snails run the hazard of similar accidents, Muller, at the end of his memoir on snails, *Journal de Physique* 1778, observes, that he found 'a naked snail in a wood, and two others, repairing a large horn that had accidentally been lost.' I have had newts taken with deformities in the fingers and toes, which clearly indicated casual mutilations.





The members in miniature, which, though themselves mutilated, produce a similar, but smaller miniature, and the reproductions of this, when mutilated, afford a powerful support of the hypothesis of involution. However, I will not affirm that the reparatory germs are involved in each other; the expression would be incorrect; but it appears that the expanding germ includes all the parts fit to reproduce a member, and, with these parts, germs united to them, which also grow, and that by their connection, and are destined to replace the lost members. In short, different generations of germs must not be conceived as boxes cased in each other. The germ of the second generation constitutes part of the germ of the first, just as a seed growing in a plant, or an egg in an animal, forms part of that plant or animal. The germ of the third generation constitutes part of the second, and so on with the rest. Thus all the generations included in the first germ are as many decreasing parts of it, and it is itself a constituent part of the original member. I need not return to the objections against involution; they are answered elsewhere; and none similar will occur to a philosopher who knows the difference between hypothesis and discovery.

## M E M O I R III,

EXPERIMENT I. *Reproduced members mutilated.*—In the first experiment of the preceding Memoir, is an account of several successive operations on a large newt, which were made purposely to discover whether reproduced members contained reparatory principles in the same way as the original members. There, it is observed, that the fourth mutilation was performed 13 October 1778. Another operation was performed on the same newt, 9 March 1779; the reproduced hand and foot being nearly as much advanced as those the last time amputated.

We have seen that the third amputation was on the 24 of August, so that only fifty days elapsed between it and the fourth; whereas, between the fourth and fifth, there were one hundred and forty-seven, which is an additional proof how much reproduction is retarded by winter.

A new hand was announced by the appearance of new fingers, 21 April, and regeneration of the foot was at that time still more sensible.

Three

Three toes could clearly be distinguished, notwithstanding their extreme minuteness. On the sixth of May, only three fingers were visible, but all well shaped; the longest equal to about two-thirds of a line. The three toes were nearly of the same length, fig. 1. 2. plate 11. The extremity of the arm and the foot are much swelled, fig. 1. 2. r.

It is here to be remarked, that neither fingers nor toes are in the same direction as the axis of the member, but, from being a little elevated, they are oblique, which is more conspicuous in the latter.

June 1, the hand was exactly as in fig. 3. Four fingers were completely formed, the longest near a line and a half in length. The foot still had only three toes, nearly as long as the fingers, fig. 4. I this day performed the sixth operation, without waiting the reproduction of the other two toes, which seemed very tardy.

A new hand was visible in the end of the month with three fingers, and a foot with four toes.

July 14, the hand still had no more than three fingers, and the foot four toes; the longest toe about a line and a third; the largest finger a little less in length. It is almost unnecessary to repeat, that all were whitish or greyish, and some transparent, as originating members uniformly

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are. The toes had grown greatly against the 31, and darkened very much, but the increment of the fingers was less evident, nor was their colour so dark. Neither the fourth finger nor fifth toe yet appeared.

The seventh operation was now performed; and a remarkable monstrosity arose on the reproduced foot, fig. 6. 15 October.

The foot seemed to have renewed only three toes, and the second, *m*, was monstrous. It was evidently formed by the union of two; one-third of the length was thicker than the rest, and a cleft seen at the upper extremity, where the toes were not united.

The first and fourth finger were extremely short, fig. 5; the second and third more distant than they should have been, and the whole hand turned downwards, which increased the deformity.

I proceeded to the eighth mutilation, 29 October, no sensible change having taken place in the members since the 15, except in the colour becoming deeper.

While the amputated foot lay on my finger, I distinctly saw with my naked eye, and still better with a magnifier, a slight furrow or groove, all along the monstrous toe, and exactly in the middle, which seemed an indication of the place where the two toes engrafted or united, and produced

duced the monstrosity. It is magnified, fig. 7, and the furrow, or groove uniting the toes, is plainly evident.

This is a most important fact, as it relates to the celebrated dispute concerning the origin of monsters. Here we behold a graft by union, which nature has executed in a manner before the observer. The large horns of snails have presented similar instances, as appears from the horn, fig. 15, Plate 8. which arose from such a graft, and it is proved by the two eyes at the extremity. But as the horns of a snail are originally softer than the members of a newt, and contain no osseous part, or what may ossify, it naturally follows, that no indications of the junction will remain.

To my great regret, the newt died 27 November, probably from the bad quality of the renewed water. At that time, the animal had not exhibited any sign of reproduction.

EXPERIMENT II. *A small excrescence cut from the leg of two newts.*—On the 28 of October 1778, I remarked that one of the large newts, which had only four toes on a foot, had, in place of the fifth, a very minute excrescence, apparently an originating toe. However, I could not observe that it made any sensible progress; and I determined to cut it off, with the view of dis-

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covering



covering whether nature would produce something in its place, or regenerate the fifth toe. But nothing resulted from the operation.

A similar experiment was also made on another newt, and with as little success. Undoubtedly the excrescence was not the germ of a toe whose evolution ceased. It probably arose from some accidental cause : and as it did not include the germ of a toe, the exertions of nature were limited to simply healing the wound.

EXPERIMENT III. *On a monstrous finger.*— On the 13 of July 1779, my newt catcher brought me one with the second finger of the left hand monstrous. There was a cleft at the extremity similar to what had been observed in the newt of the first experiment, which also seemed to be formed by the accidental union of two fingers ingrafted four-fifths of their length by approximation.

Three days afterwards, the hand was drawn of its natural size, fig. 8. Neither it nor the fingers appeared to have been fortuitously mutilated : they were of the size, colour, and proportion peculiar to a hand fully developed, that had never been exposed to any accident. Therefore the newt was probably produced with the monstrosity. In the finger *m*, which is evidently larger

er than the rest, is obscurely seen the little groove, indicating the place of union. A wide angle is formed by the cleft, *b, b*.

While considering this species of monstrosity, an experiment occurred to me for perfecting the theory of germs. I cut off one of the branches close to its origin with very small sharp pointed scissors, 3 July.

On the 19 of August, the finger had protruded a new branch half as long as the corresponding one, and evidently thicker : and on the 25, it was equal in length, but still thicker.

This day, I cut off the unmutated branch at its base. Reproduction advanced much slower ; and not before the middle of October was it equal to the part replaced.

Both branches were amputated on the 21. My object was to discover whether the finger would reproduce a cleft similar to the first : but an accident which befel the newt prevented the satisfaction of my curiosity.

However, it is proved by this experiment, that each branch contained a principle of reproduction, the evolution of which was determined by the operation.

I afterwards procured another newt with the same monstrosity of the third finger. It was caught during spring of the present year 1780. On the 1 of September, I amputated the cleft at

its origin : and a new one appeared on the 28. Thus each could be reproduced separately, and both at once.

EXPERIMENT IV. *Both hands and the left foot longitudinally divided.*—The experiments on longitudinal division, which afforded interesting results, are detailed in the preceding Memoir : It was of great importance to repeat one of this nature ; for which several reasons have already been given. And I may here add another. By this mode of section, I thought a greater number of fingers and toes might be produced than nature allotted to each member. I conceived that longitudinal division might occasion the derivation of fluids favourable to the eruption of those germs that were around the edges of the wound. Thus it was principally with that view the following experiments were made.

July 13, 1779, the hands and left foot of a newt were longitudinally divided. From the 15, mould grew on the wounds, but I took care to brush it off with a pencil : and also to renew the water frequently. But, for all my precautions, half the hands and foot were consumed by gangrene. A minute trunk, formed by the metacarpus and metatarsus, was then visible at one side of the remaining part.

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I never doubted that the trunk would produce new fingers and toes : my former experiments had prepared me for it : and in fact, I did see little papillæ on each trunk after an interval of some weeks, which announced the reproduction of parts in the place of those destroyed. The first two fingers of each hand were wanting, and the last three toes.

Two new fingers, about two-thirds of a line long, and in the natural position, appeared on each hand, 21 August. The second of the right hand exhibited a very singular monstrosity of the species already described. This finger was much larger than it should have been, and evidently arose from two germs grafted by approach. An originating cleft, similar to the others, was perceptible at the extremity.

The hand is magnified, fig. 9. *m* the monstrous finger : *d*, the other beginning to grow. The foot is of its natural size, but the originating toes, *n*, *n*, in an unnatural position, fig. 10.

Though the monstrous finger was examined with a considerable magnifier, nothing along the middle, which indicated the union of the two fingers, could be discovered : all was uniform. This, as well as the whole new fingers and toes, was semi-transparent, and of a whitish or greyish colour.

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**EXPERIMENT V.** *The hands and feet of a newt longitudinally divided.*—On the 15 of July 1779, I divided the hands and feet of a large newt longitudinally. Mould soon appeared on the wounds: but by removing it with a pencil, and renewing the water, I saved the members.

The halves of the right hand and foot re-united: and the enormous wounds were so completely cicatrised, that it was impossible to observe the place of junction, at least in the hands: however, I thought I could perceive a long superficial furrow which might be it.

The left foot had lost the middle toe by the operation. But in a few weeks, there was discovered, in the middle of the foot, an extremely minute papilla among the four toes, which announced a new toe to supply the place of that destroyed.

I soon observed a similar papilla among the fingers of the left hand, which was recognised as a *medius*, unfolding exactly where the middle finger is in a hand with five fingers. But newts have only four; therefore, by a longitudinal section, this newt acquired five on one hand, and my object was happily accomplished.

The new toe was a full line in length; the new finger only half a line. Both the hand and foot were then designed, fig. 11, 12. In consequence of dividing the hand, the second finger is farther  
from

from the third than usual, fig. 11. Between them is a middle finger still very small, but evidently a new one, *m*. From the same cause, the second toe is also farther from the third than it should be. Between them is seen the new toe, *n*, which is to replace that which was lost.

The wound on the metatarsus was now so well healed, that no marks of it remained. These immense wounds being healed by a kind of ingrafting, which effects the union of the parts, is no inconsiderable corroboration of a theory which I have suggested on the formation of certain monsters, that seem to originate from the accidental union of two organic wholes. Nor is the supernumerary finger, which I was able to give the newt, less favourable to it.

EXPERIMENT VI.—We must not conclude, from the experiments in this and the preceding memoir, that, in consequence of longitudinal division, a new finger will always arise in the middle of the member, and one, in this manner, have it in his power to produce a fifth finger on hands, and a sixth toe on feet, at pleasure. Experience has taught me, that cleaving the members asunder is not uniformly followed by an additional reproduction. Many circumstances, which we are yet unable to ascertain, may deeply influence

ence the effects of the operation; and of these, the following is an example.

By a cut as far as the tarsus and carpus, I divided the hands and feet of a large newt longitudinally, 25 August 1779. After the operation, the parts separated far asunder. I expected much mould on the wounds, but so little appeared that it was unnecessary to remove it. The middle toe of the left foot was destroyed.

In about six weeks, no traces of the wounds remained. The third and fourth finger of the left hand, and the third and fourth toe of the left foot, were more distant from each other than naturally. The middle toe of this foot was replaced by another, which was about two lines long; 29 October.

EXPERIMENT VII. *Various monstrosities arising from the amputation of members.*—Here I shall subjoin some remarkable instances of monstrosity arising from the amputation of members.

A foot which had produced six toes, but three of them united great part of their length, is represented, fig. 13. The same foot is magnified, fig. 14, to shew the monstrosity better. On comparing this with fig. 8, 9, the monstrous toe evidently exceeds the natural size, was it not formed as the others by the union of two. Here there are two clefts instead of one. The branch

4,

$a$ , is longer than  $b$ ,  $c$ : the middle one  $b$  is shortest. No indication of the union was perceptible, it was so complete.

Another newt, whose hands and feet were transversely amputated, 8 June 1780, presented a monstrosity still more singular. The four members began to reproduce in the end of July. Considering the newt attentively, towards the first days of August, I was agreeably surpris'd to see eight toes regenerating on the left foot. It was necessary to hold the foot in a particular position and examine it closely, as they could not be discerned at the first view.

This monstrous foot was designed August 9. The metatarsus,  $m$ , is a little larger than common; and the fifth toe,  $c$ , seems to rise above the fourth,  $p$ , fig. 15.

There was also a singularity in the right hand. It reproduced five fingers; the first two much shorter than the rest. It was designed 10 August, fig. 16.

The regenerated right foot was likewise deformed; the last two toes being connected by a membrane, like that of some aquatic animals. Thus the only perfect part of the newt was its left hand.

Again observing the monstrous foot, fig. 15, with the greatest attention, November 7, I discovered that the fourth toe, fig. 17, 5, 6, 7, was composed



composed of three longitudinally united, and nearly as in fig. 14. The third toe, also, was clearly formed by the union of two, but joined only a small part of the length. All this gave the reproduced foot a very uncommon appearance, and occasioned a confusion, which prevented the figure and arrangement of the parts from being easily understood.

Is it not indicated, by these frequent graftings, that the reparatory germs of mutilated parts are situated very near each other, in the interior of the members, because they can only arise in consequence of such proximity? Such remarkable instances enable us to judge how many operations may be performed on newts, well calculated to elucidate the mysterious origin of monsters. It is proved that reproducing members, if mutilated, produce similar members. Thus may various monstrosities be regenerated. If the eight toes of the monstrous foot were amputated, which is an experiment that I mean to make, eight toes resembling the first would most probably be reproduced; and reproduction might perhaps extend further, by encroaching a little on the metatarsus.

EXPERIMENT VIII. *The limbs of a newt dislocated.*—Sig. Spallanzani having requested me to dislocate

dislocate the limbs, I did not fail to make this experiment. But it is much more difficult to dislocate a limb than to amputate it; for the pliancy and lubricity of the members contributes to render the experimentalist's exertions abortive.

On the 13 of July, I performed this new operation on two large newts, at half past two. It is of some consequence to attend to the exact hour. Both arms of the one and both thighs of the other were dislocated. The operation was indubitably complete; for, besides the sensation felt in performing it, which convinced me of the fact, the members immediately afterwards were pendent, as if dead, and the animal had no longer any power over them, which was an unequivocal proof.

At six in the morning, on the 14, it was impossible to recognise any symptom of dislocation. In the evening, each newt moved the disjointed limbs with a liberty and facility which announced that nature had already repaired the disorder.

EXPERIMENT IX. *On the eyes of newts.*—This and the preceding experiment are cruel indeed; and sensible minds will hardly pardon the observer's cruelty, though it arises from an evident

dent desire to discover new facts and enlarge our knowledge of the animal œconomy. Therefore, I fear the compassionate reader will revolt further still at what is yet to be related. But I beg he will consider, that animals, which, after losing one, or even several limbs, continue greedily devouring the prey presented, undoubtedly cannot experience the sensation of pain to the excess which our own sensations lead us to imagine. We are very insufficient judges of what passes within an animal so remote from us in the scale of living beings. Let it not be thought, that by these reflections, I mean to lessen the natural repugnance of every humane mind to make animals suffer. The benignity of nature itself will inspire man with this precious sentiment to prevent the enormous abuse that his power might exert over the animals which she has subjected to his dominion. Yet let me ask, whether a rational person abuses his empire over animals, by making them suffer only for his own instruction, or that of his fellow creatures,

With a scalpel, I extracted the right eye of a large newt, 13 September 1779: but I did not obtain the globe without much injury to the tunics. It was the first time of performing the operation, and before I had acquired the peculiar dexterity necessary for success, and afterwards  
learned

learned by experience. Thus the utmost disorder ensued in the eye, and the chrystalline lens started out on my nail. This is a beautiful object; no larger than a millet seed, and quite transparent. I thought that I beheld one of the spherical lenses with which Leeuwenhoeck discovered so many wonders. But contact of the air soon tarnished the minute lens; it dried and became disfigured.

A deep bloody wound in the socket of the eye was the consequence of this cruel operation. And the reader will not be surprised if I hardly expected any thing from it, and that the newt would probably remain blind for ever. How great was my astonishment, therefore, when, on the thirty-first of May 1780, I saw a new eye formed by nature. The iris and cornea were already well shaped, but the latter wanted its peculiar transparency, which is very considerable in these animals. Impatience to arrive at the most important part of the prodigy has induced me to omit the progress of it; and observe that nature certainly began with closing the wound.

The eye was completely repaired 1 September. The cornea was nearly as transparent as that of the other eye, with which it was frequently compared. The iris had also acquired the yellow gilded colour, which characterises this species of newt. In short, the eye was so per-

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fectly

fectly renewed, that no vestige existed of the uncommon operation that the animal had undergone. During the remainder of this and the following month, the cornea always became more transparent; and now, when I write these remarks, 8 November 1780, it is equally perfect as the other: but the reproduced eye seems a little smaller than the entire one; and the iris, or golden circle, goes only half round the ball (1).

It would still be necessary to extract the reproduced eye, to ascertain, by dissection, whether it contains a chrystalline lens similar to the original. But I confess, that, as yet, I have not had resolution to subject the newt to the most barbarous of all operations; and I shall probably await its death for satisfying my curiosity.

A newt is mentioned in the second memoir, which had lost the regenerated members four times, and had taken no food for several months. It became so much emaciated, that the joints of the fingers could be seen through the flesh. The head

(1) According to Blumenbach's observations, this experiment has failed when the whole globe of the eye was extracted. In six months, after discharging the humours, and cutting out the tunics, the eye was reproduced. Even after eleven months had elapsed, it was not so large as the other, *Specimen Physiologia Comparata*.—T.





head had shrunk in such a manner, that the eyes projected like two lumps, and appeared much larger than usual. It died 11 November; and I extracted an eye. The opaque cornea or sclerotides, *o*, fig. 18, plate 11, is of an iron grey; *p*, the ball; *c*, the transparent cornea; *n*, the optic nerve. The eye is shaped like a flattened spheroid, the edges of the sclerotides forming the equator. But my purpose is not to describe this organ.

E e 2

ADDITIONAL





A D D I T I O N A L  
NOTES AND OBSERVATIONS

BY THE

T R A N S L A T O R .

—•••••—

INTRODUCTION, p. 13.—Trusting to Linnæus, it is said the tortoise lays 1000 eggs. I should rather suppose that learned naturalist is correct, but I have found no authority which makes the animal nearly so prolific. However, there is a great difference in the numbers which the females of very fertile animals will produce. I have in some observed intermediate numbers from fifty to a thousand eggs.

TRACTS, vol. I. p. 50.—The author's neglect, or rather contempt of nomenclature, occasions considerable difficulties to those who study his

E e 3

works.

works. Indeed, all the systems we have are so brief and indistinct, that even the most expert naturalist will sometimes be at a loss to discover whether the animal there named is truly the object of his search.

It is the *Oestri* that deposit their eggs in the skin of cattle; and great pain is occasioned to the animal by the swelling of tumours, which include the larva of the insect. *Afili* are a different genus of flies.

P. 84.—Since the note on the torpidity of fishes, I observe that the fact is confirmed by late observations, which will be found in *CEPEDE Histoire Naturelle des Poissons*, Tom. 3. Paris 1802. ‘ Formerly we had vague ideas concerning mackrel in their sub-marine asylums during winter, and particularly in the polar regions; but we are now indebted to vice Admiral Pleville le Peley, for certain information. He has verified his observations along the coast of Greenland, Hudson’s Bay, and towards the banks of Newfoundland. In these northern countries are arms of the sea, named *barachouas*, which are so intersected by points crossing them, that at all times the water is as calm as in a basin. The depth of the places is various,

rious, according to the proximity of the banks,  
and the bottom is generally covered with soft  
clay and marine plants. It is here that the  
mackrel lie in concealment during winter ; and,  
thrusting the head and anterior part of the body  
about a *decimetre* into the mud, their tails  
are kept perpendicularly above it. Thousands  
are found thus buried in each *barachoua*, and  
cover the bottom of the basin in such a manner,  
that seamen, unacquainted with the coast,  
have been afraid to approach what they thought  
were shoals. In Citizen Pleville's opinion, the  
surface of these *barachouas* is frozen in winter ;  
and the thickness of the ice, as well as the snow  
above it, moderate the effects of the season, and  
contribute to preserve the animals alive. Only  
towards July do the mackrel recover part of  
their activity, depart from their holes, and, committing  
themselves to the waves, traverse the great banks.  
It even appears that this stupor, or torpidity,  
is dissipated by degrees. Their senses are feeble  
for twenty days ; their sight is so weak, that they  
seem blind ; and they are easily caught in nets ;  
afterwards they can only be taken with the hook,  
but being emaciated from long abstinence,  
and greedy for the bait, great numbers are caught,' page 32, 33.

P. 207.—Though M. Bonnet is of opinion that the incorporation of foreign particles removes the original transparence of animals, it is probably owing as much to chemical combinations.

*Seminal Vermiculi.*—It is yet uncertain by whom these animals were first discovered. Different authors ascribe the discovery to various naturalists who lived towards the end of the seventeenth and in the beginning of the eighteenth century. However, it is undoubted, that Leeuwenhoeck was the first who investigated their properties.

It was generally believed, that all seminal vermiculi were of the same size; that those of the frog were as large as the vermiculi of the horse. The author has now put it beyond dispute, that there is not only a difference in the size of those of different animals, but that all the vermiculi of the same animal are not equally large.

Vol. 2. *Wheel Animal.*—This animal I have often found in situations without the smallest particle of sand: indeed, it has repeatedly appeared in different infusions, and in great numbers. But I  
do

do not recollect to have met with it in any liquid with a tendency to putrefaction.

The horn of the wheel animal is situated on the upper part, and is not easily observed unless when the animal is just about to make its step.

P. 163, Note.—Before terminating this work, it is proper to correct what is probably an error. It is possible, that what I conceive a new species of *Stoth* is not so. Some points in its history have already been attended to by naturalists of great eminence.

In the French translation of *Fuesli's Archives of the History of Insects*, Winterthour 1794, there is a memoir on these minute animals by the celebrated Muller. His observations coincide almost exactly with mine; and he seems to have had the advantage of a number for examination.

He observes, in the first place, that ‘Eichorn and Goetze at the same time discovered the animal, but the former ascribed ten feet to it instead of eight; and the name they bestowed upon it was the *URSLET* (*Ourfslet ou Petit ours*), from the supposed resemblance to a bear.’

In

In Muller's opinion, it is not an infusion animalcule, ' though its proper abode is among ' them, on the water lentil. The figure and ' number of feet approximate it to the genus of ' mites or acari; and although neither eyes nor ' antennæ are perceptible, the other parts induce ' us to class it with insects.'

He proceeds: ' Three claws terminated each ' foot; something like eggs were seen within. ' Sometimes I found a simple skin with the feet, ' nails, and eggs. This is not a dead *urset*, but ' a slough, such as other animals throw off; but ' how does the ovary come here ?'

The figure in the Archives, Plate 36, seems very correct. If we may judge from what is said in the account of it, this animalcule must have been a great deal larger than mine.

Whether it belongs to the class of insects may be doubted: if it does, I see few reasons why Spallanzani's does not belong to it also.---It is very probable, that several of what we call *infusion animalcula*, are only miniatures of some larger animals.---Those of the northern nations have alone been investigated; it is reasonable to expect new animalcula as well as we find new animals.

imals in other countries, or new connections with those already known.

*Boat Worm.*—I am uncertain what animal, according to the Linnæan nomenclature, the author calls the boat worm. The third chapter of his *Prodromo* is appropriated to its reproductions; and he thus describes the animal itself. ‘It is annulated like the earth worm, by which means it can contract, extend, and move from one place to another. Towards the head, it is as thick as a large goose quill. It is generally about eight inches long, but the largest, when extended, are a foot. The colour of the back is a mixture of grey and brown, which becomes lighter towards the tail: the belly is whitish.

‘The ordinary abode of this animal is in clear, shallow, or gentle running water. The anterior part is buried in the mud, but the posterior rises to the surface of the water. There it enlarges and curves below like a boat which extends on the surface. The concave part of the boat is uppermost; and the rising of the edges above the water seldom allows it to flow over. Without this particular figure it would sink, as it is specifically heavier than water.—These peculiarities have induced me to call it the *boat worm*.’

The



The fresh water worms, so often mentioned, seem to be the *Lumbricus Variegatus*, and *Tubifex* of Linnæus. A full account of them will be found in the first volume, *Œuvres de Bonnet*. The sea nettles are *Medusæ*. But the reader will observe, that, throughout this work, the original names are preserved, without using those in the *Systema Naturæ*, from the hazard of error, and the same with respect to the different elastic fluids.

## ANALYTICAL

## ANALYTICAL INDEX.

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